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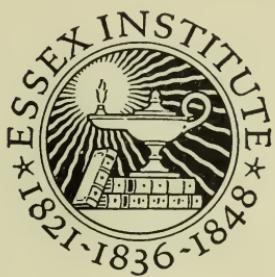


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VOL. XCIV—1958

ISSUED QUARTERLY BY THE ESSEX INSTITUTE
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JANUARY, 1958

NO. I

THE CROWNINSHIELDS OF SALEM, 1800-1808

A Study in the Politics of Commercial Growth

By WILLIAM T. WHITNEY, JR.

PART I

MASSACHUSETTS HAS LONG FACED EASTWARD. Spawning from an inhospitable soil, her sons sailed from Newburyport, Salem, Boston, or New Bedford for ports the world over. While frontier youth and an expanding nation drove on to the next westward horizon, Massachusetts' farmboys and a growing New England ventured upon the world's commerce.

And Salem, a little town perched at the head of a shallow Essex County harbor, carried on much of New England's commerce. The aggregate tonnage of her shipping in 1801 ranked seventh nationally and second in New England. The East India trade area came to merit the appellation "Salem East Indies," and to Canton Hong merchants "Salem" signified a great European nation. Derby's *Grand Turk* helped open up the Canton trade, Jonathan Carne's Salem brigantine, the *Cadet*, discovered the Sumatra pepper coast, and Derby's ship *Margaret* was the third American vessel to penetrate Japan. And when the East India Marine Society members paraded in exotic array, each carrying an East Indian curiosity, the port of Salem partook of a cosmopolitan aspect which belied her Puritan foundations. From "King" Derby, in his time one of the world's greatest merchants, down to her meanest cordwainer, Salem lived and breathed commerce.

Timothy Orne had dominated Salem's pre-revolutionary trade, Elias Hasket Derby her commerce until 1800, and William Gray her overseas trade until the Embargo. But demanding a large share of Salem shipping after 1800 was the firm of George Crowninshield & Sons.

Old George Crowninshield had been pursuing a modest trade since the Revolution, but with the retirement from the sea around 1800 of his five sons, the family firm expanded furiously. John, Richard, Benjamin W., Jacob, and George Jr., all had been sea captains at an early age, mostly for the town's other merchants. After their homecoming, however, Richard became the firm's New York financier, John its foreign representative in Bordeaux, while the others directed the Salem counting-house. Jacob and Benjamin W., it must be noted, made most of the family commercial decisions.¹

Our concern here is not with the Crowninshields' trade but with their politics, in which the family violated one of New England's most sacred folk-ways. It is a truism that the Federalist party served the best interests of the upper classes generally and of the New England merchants in particular.² Merchants like the Crowninshields ought to have formed the backbone of Federalism.

For many years the fear of levelling Jacobinism, "disorganizers," and Deism traumatized New England. Not only was the Federalist party the avowed enemy of such diseases, but it also had the special task of pleading the case of New England commerce before the nation. The planting interests of Virginia were viewed by New England Federalists with special hatred.

New England Federalism was epitomized by the Essex Junto, and the Junto gave American Federalism political direction and a commercial flavor. At home its power was such that "all Massachusetts scurried to furl topsails when the Essex Junto roared the command."³ And nowhere was the Junto more influential than in

1. Ben Crowninshield became Benjamin W. by act of the Legislature in 1808. He is referred to by this name to avoid confusion with the three other Ben Crowninshields in Salem during this period.

2. "New England Federalism; an alliance of merchant-shipowner, country squire, and Congregational clergy."—S. E. Morison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783-1860* (Boston, 1921), p. 174. cf. J. W. Pratt, *Expansionists of 1812* (New York, 1949), p. 131; Henry Adams, *History of the United States* (New York, 1890), I, 86.

3. Morison, *op. cit.*, p. 167. "Of course," writes James Duncan Phillips, "there never was any such thing as an Essex Junto, but there was a very

the Crowninshields' county of Essex. Fisher Ames and Harrison Gray Otis were rare Juntomen who had not sprouted from Essex County soil.

It is remarkable then that the Crowninshields, Essex County merchants, dedicated their politics to the support of Jefferson's Republican party. They did so most actively. George, Jr., Jacob, and Benjamin W. at various times were local officeholders. Benjamin W. in 1807 found himself in the Massachusetts Legislature. And Jacob, as State Senator, Congressman for five years, and nominal Secretary of the Navy for a time, gave the Crowninshield name national political significance.

Our problem is to understand why these merchants were Republicans, an inquiry with three facets. What made the Crowninshields become active Republicans in 1800? Salem politics then centered on the national issue of peace or war with France. Why did they remain Republican later during a period when Salem had no particular interest in national politics? And why after 1805 did the Crowninshields remain Jeffersonian in the face of a nationally imposed restriction on their own commerce?

The course of Salem politics from 1800 until the Embargo was repealed in 1809 fluctuated from concern with the national issue of the French war, to absorption for several years in local politics, to engrossment after 1805 in the national issue of neutrality. In each phase the Crowninshields were aware of certain issues at stake for the firm and family. They became active Republicans because they opposed the French war on commercial and ideological grounds. They remained Republicans because by doing so they would succeed in their aspiration for local social and economic leadership. They supported Jeffersonian policies on neutrality because these answered their special commercial problems. The intrinsic appeal of the general Jeffersonian party-line had but a secondary influence on Crowninshield politics.

General historical treatment has to neglect historical minutiae of the sort acting upon Crowninshield politics. But these peculiarities cannot be without historical significance. For the Crowninshield family played a crucial role in a town important to the nation commercially and politically. A study of the roots of Crown-

able group of Federalist citizens whose people originated in Essex County . . . who did not intend to see Massachusetts ruined by Jeffersonian policies." *Salem and the Indies* (Boston, 1947), p. 278.

inshield politics can perhaps add depth to the broader interpretations of the period.

The formative years of Crowninshield political activity have several aspects which are significant. One is the dispute over the Quasi-French War which pricked the Crowninshields into political activity. Another is the family's part in the first stages of a local struggle for social and economic leadership. A third is the political excitement of 1802 from which Jacob Crowninshield emerged a Congressman.

The Crowninshields had already argued themselves into a position strongly Francophile by the time the Quasi-French War erupted. This maritime war raged from 1798 until 1800. During the ill-fated XYZ negotiations which preceded the war, Jacob wrote that we must "agree to almost anything that France may demand." He feared that seven-eighths of the Massachusetts merchants would stop payment if war were declared, particularly the wholesalers who bought the shipowners' cargoes.⁴ His brother John wrote from Bordeaux that France's intentions were peaceful; the United States had only to observe neutrality to keep out of war. Published in the Salem *Gazette*, the letter claimed that only America's folly could cause a rupture between the two countries. With little French commerce afloat, the United States would face the frustration of fighting an enemy offering no vulnerable point of attack. France, on the other hand, would seize at an instant some one hundred American vessels at Bordeaux.⁵

Another commercial consideration indirectly influenced the Crowninshield attitude toward the French war. "The dam⁶ British Treaty" was a monument to British injustice in Jacob's mind, and his Anglophobia, caused by the Jay Treaty, made him partial to France.⁷ Before 1795 Salem East Indiamen often took European goods to Calcutta to exchange for rice and cotton goods. Thence they would proceed to Sumatra or Bourbon to trade the rice for what they really wanted—pepper or coffee. But the Thirteenth

4. Jacob to Richard, March 20, 1797, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum; Jacob to Richard, April 12, 1797, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum.

5. Salem *Gazette*, April 4, 1797. Jacob was very proud of John's letter. cf. Jacob to Richard, April 4, 1797, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum.

6. Jacob to Richard, March 20, 1779, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum.

Article of the Jay Treaty stipulated that any cargo taken out of British India had to be carried directly and non-stop to an American port. Therefore, the American vessels sailing to British East India ports such as Calcutta had to take whatever product they procured there directly home. Thus rice could no longer be used as payment for coffee and pepper at other ports in the Indies. And because Britain came to monopolize the supplying of European goods for the Indies, American had no choice after the Jay Treaty but to use specie to pay for coffee and pepper. Moreover, American traders with British East India territory could no longer pursue the profitable "coasting trade" in the Indian Ocean—knocking about from port to port buying and selling.⁷ The Crowninshields, therefore, despised the British Treaty of 1794, and their consequent enmity toward England argued against their joining that country to fight France.

Commercial reasons were not alone in dictating Crowninshield partiality to France. The family friendship with their minister, William Bentley, provided an ideological basis for conciliation. The cosmopolitan parson was an amateur scientist, botanist, linguist, newspaper writer, historian, and bibliophile. A Unitarian by religious persuasion, Bentley was in all things an enlightened liberal.⁸ He was very close to the family and, according to Doctor Mitchell of New York, was "the idol of my . . . friend Jacob Crowninshield."⁹ That the Crowninshields after every voyage bestowed upon Bentley books and curios reflected a common interest in science and learning.¹⁰ Politically, the Crowninshields and Bentley were of one mind. The family despised Britain as much for her commercial supremacy as did Bentley for her dominance over American culture. The French Revolution represented

7. The commercially disastrous results of the Jay Treaty are explained fully by Jacob in his report on Anglo-American trade to James Madison, September 1, 1806, (Crowninshield MSS., Peabody Museum). Crowninshield correspondence with Jefferson and Madison, deposited in the State Department Library, has been transcribed by the late William Crowninshield Endicott.

8. At the time of his death Bentley's private library was second in size in the United States only to Thomas Jefferson's. He had a world-wide correspondence and was the master of more than twenty languages.

9. S. Mitchell to W. Bentley, March 21, 1811, Bentley MSS., American Antiquarian Society.

10. See Jacob to William Bentley, July 5, 1800, (Bentley MSS., American Antiquarian Society) when Bentley was given samples of Indian coins and Jacob's notes on the value of the rupee. Coral and German books were favorite gifts.

for both an expression of progress and enlightenment. Bentley entertained the son of Dr. Priestley, the English radical, when he was in exile in the new world, and both Jacob Crowninshield and William Bentley shared an admiration for Tom Paine.¹¹

The Crowninshields shortly had an opportunity to make public their conciliatory attitude toward France. The negotiators which John Adams in 1797 had sent to France had been humiliated by the Directory's invitation to bribe Talleyrand and disavow Adams' instructions. During 1798 the Federalist newspapers gleefully published documents relating to these, the so-called XYZ negotiations, to show the futility of anything but a belligerent attitude toward France. Excitement rose steadily, and the nation at last faced the French war which the Federalists had long desired. The government's plan for bolstering the navy had particular interest for the Crowninshields.

In accordance, as they thought, with Congressional policy, the Crowninshields in August, 1798, offered two ships to the newly created Navy Department. The ship *America*, purchased a few months earlier in France, and the ship *Belisarius* they offered on loan with an annual rental of six percent of the total value. Both were to be converted into warships. The Secretary of the Navy, Benjamin Stoddert, refused them on the ground that he had no authority to purchase them and that he could only borrow vessels "now Building or to be built."¹² The Crowninshields, renewing their offer in a caustic letter to John Adams, claimed that they had been misunderstood, that they intended to lend the vessels rather than sell them.¹³

11. W. Bentley, *Diary* (Salem, 1905-1914), II, 102, 107, 112; Jacob to Richard, December 4, 1802, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum. The Crowninshields had serious reservations about Napoleon. Jacob was horrified when he became Consul for life, and when the Pope crowned the Corsican emperor, Jacob mourned the fate of the French. "They had better cry . . . for they are going into the calm of despotism and that of the worst kind." (Jacob to Richard, July 3, 1802, July 30, 1804, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum).

12. Stoddert to Geo. Crowninshield & Sons, August 25, 1798, *Quasi War with France, Naval Operations* (Washington, 1935) I, 339; the Secretary actually was authorized to buy or borrow any vessel whatsoever. The only Congressional policy on strengthening the navy was the bill of April 27, 1798, empowering the President "to cause to be built, purchased, or hired a number of vessels. . . ." (*U. S. Statutes*, II, 552). This bill appeared in the *Gazette* on June 15, 1798, and was the one the Crowninshields acted upon.

13. Geo. Crowninshield & Sons to John Adams, September 1, 1798, *ibid.*, p. 369.

But why, if the Crowninshields deplored the French war, did they offer two vessels to the government? The cause was not patriotism. The *America* weighted 654 tons and drew too much water for Salem harbor.¹⁴ To use her the Crowninshields would have had to extend their wharf further into the channel at great expense. Some alleged that the *Belisarius* had been offered because she was unseaworthy. In fact, on her last voyage the *Belisarius* had encountered severe storms which damaged ships she was sailing with and which might have damaged her.¹⁵

During the summer of 1798 the Crowninshields had a chance to display their opposition to the French war. They refused to give a cent to the building of the frigate *Essex*, a project undertaken by the town. Their obstinacy stood out in a town which raised a total of \$74,000 with two merchants contributing \$10,000 and eleven others each giving over \$1000.¹⁶ The Crowninshields were determined not to further preparations for the French war. But as a rising family they were solicitous of local opinion and were unwilling to scorn recklessly the town's overwhelmingly Federalist outlook.¹⁷ It could well have been as a means to placate Salem opinion that the family offered the *America* and *Belisarius* to the war effort before announcing their refusal to subscribe to the *Essex*. Yet despite a measure of timidity, the *Essex* subscription was the first political issue to find the Crowninshields acting in opposition to the dominant Federalism of the town.

The crisis in American relations with France eased shortly thereafter. The cabinet, inspired by Hamilton, had advocated an immediate declaration of war,¹⁸ but John Adams repudiated his Hamiltonian advisors and decided to initiate negotiations. In February, 1799, William Vans Murray was nominated minister to

14. G. G. Putnam, *Salem Vessels and Their Voyages*, series IV, (Salem, 1906), 125.

15. See *Salem Register* (supplement), October 28, 1802, for unseaworthy charge and *Salem Gazette*, September 14, 1798, for storms.

16. J. D. Phillips, "Career of the Frigate *Essex*," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, LXXXVII (January 1951), 13.

17. The tyranny of Federalist opinion was riding high that summer. Bentley grudgingly donned a "national cockade," the black rose signifying enmity to France. But at the Harvard commencement he was mortified to find that he alone was wearing one; "the prejudices of Salem . . . deceived me." A few weeks previous he had recorded that "the Federalists are in triumph & few dare to speak." Bentley, *op. cit.*, II, 269, 276.

18. Claude Bowers, *Jefferson and Hamilton* (Boston, 1925), p. 429.

France. Secretary of State Pickering tried to delay instructions to the new envoy but to no avail. Hamiltonians viewed the move as American humiliation in the face of French maritime depredations and diplomatic chicanery; the Crowninshields applauded the conciliatory measure.

The split within the Federalist party advertised the imminence of a French war as a legitimate political issue. The national debate evoked Salem's first organized anti-Federalist sentiment, and the Massachusetts election of April, 1800, for Governor and State Senator centered on the issue. Elbridge Gerry was the anti-Federalist candidate for Governor. John Adams' personal friend,¹⁹ he was the XYZ negotiator who had stayed in Paris waiting for French apologies after his colleagues had left in disgust and was a staunch advocate of conciliation with France. Issue by issue the Federalist Salem *Gazette* printed Gerry's correspondence with the French and his dispatches to Washington, documents which for the Federalists demonstrated the utter futility of the talks. Gerry, in fact, was a "disorganizer" who had sold the national honor.²⁰ Because the anti-Federalists had no newspaper, the *Gazette* onslaughts went unanswered.

But the anti-Federalist showing, while not strong enough to achieve victory, was sufficient to mark the birth of a two-party system in Salem. Jacob Crowninshield's showing was representative. As an anti-Federalist candidate for the State Senate he received 187 Salem votes compared to his forty-seven votes for the same office in 1799. Gerry received 246 Salem votes compared to Heath's forty votes in that year.²¹

The anti-Federalists, as Crowninshield's friends were still called in Salem, acted immediately to find means for public expression. They issued proposals for a new newspaper in March, and on May 12, 1800, the first Salem *Impartial Register* appeared. Its motto, graciously proclaiming that "All parties here may plead an honest . . . cause," belied its partisan character. Noteworthy was the organ's centralized control system. Jacob Crowninshield and two others paid for the press, and the Crowninshield firm shifted all their commercial advertising to the new newspaper.²² William

19. For Gerry's good relations with Adams see William A. Robinson, *Jeffersonian Democracy in New England* (New Haven, 1916), pp. 32-33.

20. Salem *Gazette*, April 1, 1800; cf. *Gazette*, March 21, 1800.

21. Salem *Gazette*, April 8, 1800, April 2, 1799.

22. Joseph White, Jr., and John Hathorne also subsidized Carlton.

Carlton, the publisher, was a relation to the Crowninshields by marriage, and he boarded for a time in the home of Mrs. Hannah Crowninshield, Jacob's aunt.²³ William Bentley, another of Mrs. Crowninshield's boarders, contributed a long column summarizing such foreign and national news as he could gather from sea captains and out-of-town newspapers.²⁴ But if the Salem *Impartial Register* gave the Crowninshields and their friends a political sounding board, it was the *Gazette* which continued to carry most of the town's commercial advertising and ship news.

During the time that the *Register* was being established, American politics had acquired a sensational issue which came to dramatize the question of peace or war with France. John Adams' long festering feud with Timothy Pickering, his Secretary of State, suddenly came to a head. Under Hamilton's influence Pickering had harassed John Adams throughout 1799 on military appointments and had attempted to undermine the Davies-Ellsworth-Murray commission to France. Adams was finally provoked into dismissing Pickering on May 10, 1800, and in so doing irreparably shattered his own Federalist Party.²⁵ Pickering, Hamilton, and the Essex Junto now spoke of replacing John Adams with C. C. Pinckney, nominally a vice-presidential candidate, as the party's presidential choice. "The Haughty Ex-Secretary" Timothy Pickering, a tool of the Junto and British influence in the eyes of his enemies, was playing false with that "hoary patriot," John Adams. Underneath the slogans, Pickering symbolized a French war, and John Adams stood for a negotiated peace.

Possessing a weapon for political debate and a *casus belli*, Salem anti-Federalists hopefully awaited a call to battle. Coinciding by chance with this new-found excitement was the death during the early summer of Samuel Sewall, Essex Middle District's Congressman, and a special election to fill his seat was scheduled for August 25, 1800. Young Jacob Crowninshield, aged thirty, found himself the anti-Federalist candidate, and Nathan

23. Bentley, *op. cit.*, II, 112, 123.

24. Bentley was one of the first editors of the news in American journalism; cf. F. L. Mott, *American Journalism*, pp. 153-154. Bentley for years paid Hannah Crowninshield four dollars every week for board and room (Bentley MSS. account books, Am. Antiq. Society).

25. Bowers, *op. cit.*, p. 456.

Read, a former Harvard tutor, medical student, and a pioneer in the development of iron manufacturing, became his opponent.²⁶

The *Gazette* apparently was so confident of Federalist victory that it contained no electioneering material. The *Register*, however, lashed out with the vigor of youth. Virtually all its diatribes reduced themselves to the contention that Read was the tool of the Junto and therefore Pickering's friend and Adams' enemy. One writer charged that he had been "put a going by a set [who] . . . slander our old President worse than the Jacobins have done." Crowninshield, on the other hand, needed nothing more to justify his candidacy than that he was a "strong advocate for ADAMS."²⁷ The battle with Federalism will be settled "*when their line is . . . turned by the Adams and Liberty corps.*" No one, the electioneering implied, was a better Federalist than Crowninshield.²⁸

Election tactics displayed the intensity of the bitter struggle. Elections were held at a general town meeting where the selectmen counted the electors holding the two types of printed tickets. Carlton, the resourceful Republican editor, printed a bogus set of Federalist tickets embellished with the King's arms, and a few self-styled "selectmen patrolled the meeting exercising strong-arm tactics, according to the Federalists, in less than an impartial manner.²⁹ Crowninshield polled a majority of more than 130 votes in Salem and defeated Read in the District. "There appears to be a change in ESSEX! yea, verily, in Essex" crowed the *Columbian Chronicle*³⁰ of Boston. Due to scattering votes in the western townships, however, no one gained the required majority, and another election was set for October. But out of "Our grand Election Day" had come "a new era in the politics of Salem."³¹

For the second election both newspapers entered the debate. The silence of the *Gazette* on the French war demonstrated more eloquently than words its embarrassment at the idea of repudiating the President. It remained content to abuse Crowninshield's party

26. Nathan Dane had been suggested as the Anti-Federalist candidate, but had declined (*Register*, August 18, 1800). A judge, lawyer, and future delegate to the Hartford Convention, Dane was the soul of conservatism, certainly not the typical Anti-Federalist as defined by Beard.

27. Salem *Impartial Register*, August 21, 25, 1800.

28. *Ibid.*

29. Bentley, *op. cit.*, II, 347; Salem *Gazette*, August 29, 1800.

30. Quoted by the Salem *Gazette*, August 29, 1800.

31. Bentley, *op. cit.*, II, 347.

in the usual Federalist fashion; its polemics centered on the Jacobinism, Deism, and democracy of its opponents who were members of a party designed to "produce convulsions, agonies, and death." Crowninshield was criticized personally for his inexperience and his lack of the "advantages of education."³² The *Register* denied any connection with democracy; after all, its candidate was an "Adams Federalist," and its argument concentrated on an endorsement of Adams' peaceful overtures to France. The President understood the unfortunate consequences of war—"an accumulated national debt, ruin of commerce, multiplied taxes, and a treaty offensive and defensive with England." The worst of the French revolution was over, another writer explained, and revolutionary disorder was no worse than monarchial violence. Finally, a writer who saw Adams as "one who had grown gray in the service of his country," disclosed that Read had had the temerity to assert that the "President ought to swing for sending the last Envoys to France."³³ The second round of electioneering for Sewall's vacant seat was hotly contested, and while Crowninshield again polled a sizeable majority in Salem, he lost the district vote.³⁴

But the campaigning did not stop. The same two candidates now had to compete for the regular biennial election held in November for Congressman. More scurrility and personal abuses preceded this election than the previous two. During the election meeting on October 20 George Crowninshield had argued that a few naturalized foreigners in Salem had a right to vote. Now the *Gazette* inveighed against what it regarded as an invitation to revolution. Invariably, one writer pointed out, foreigners were French, bloody, and Godless.³⁵ The severe Federalist attack forced the *Register* categorically to deny that Crowninshield had ever been a friend of Jefferson, France, or the "*canaille*." On the other hand, it accused Read of having publicly proclaimed his monarchial

32. Salem *Gazette*, October 14, 17, 1800.

33. Salem *Impartial Register*, October 9, 13, 16, 1800.

Sang the Republican poet:

"With disappointment how *you'd* pout
With joy how we should grin
Should we keep a *feudal* Nathan out,
And get a Jacob-in." (*Ibid.*, Oct. 20, 1800).

34. Salem *Gazette*, October 21, 1800. The vote in Salem was Crowninshield—446, and Read—397.

35. *Ibid.*, October 31, 1800; cf. *Ibid.*, October 21, 1800.

sympathies and of having been given political existence by "that incestuous, that adulterate" Alexander Hamilton.³⁶

Amid the villification the *Register* clearly articulated the main issue of the election. "We challenge," proclaimed a Republican, our bitterest opponent to produce a solitary instance of Capt. Crowninshield, or his friends, expressing their disapprobation of . . . Mr. Adams' late administration. The Salem Republicans paused with *solemn awe*, at the preparations for War—They viewed the result as doubtful! . . . They were willing to resort to the sword in self-defence, when pacific measures failed & not before. They were transported with joy, when they were satisfied these were likewise the views of Mr. Adams.³⁷

Crowninshield again won a Salem majority but once more lost the election, because Danvers, Lynn, and Beverly voted solidly Federalist. Significant was the steadily increasing number of voters on both sides as election followed election during 1800. In August a total of 622 Salemites voted, in October 843, and in November 937. And only two years before, the victorious Samuel Sewall had garnered a mere 220 votes. Only five non-Federalist votes had been cast against him.³⁸ One of the strongholds of Federalism had been revolutionized in a personal triumph for Crowninshield.

The "Revolution of 1800" which shattered the Federalist party on the national level was very different from this revolution which shook the Federalist party of Salem. There, the Republican newspapers argued merely that the French war had been inexpedient, an opinion the Crowninshields had long held. Their stand united them with John Adams and impelled them to lead an Anti-Federalist uprising in Salem. But in 1800 Salem anti-Federalism was not a Jeffersonian movement. The *Register* never mentioned Thomas Jefferson's name except in compilations of electoral votes. "Few men have more to protect by good Government, or to lose by anarchy" than Jacob Crowninshield, observed one who significantly called himself a "Republican Federalist."³⁹

36. Salem *Impartial Register*, November 3, 1800.

37. Salem *Impartial Register*, November 3, 1800; news of the peace convention signed with France September 30, 1800, did not reach Salem until December 1, (*Register*, December 22, 1800). It was during the campaign for the third election that the term "Republican" was first used by the *Register*.

38. Salem *Gazette*, August 26, October 21, November 4, 1800; November 6, 1798.

39. Salem *Impartial Register*, October 16, 1800.

The *Register* characterized the Hamiltonians as "innovators," the term usually reserved by Federalist newspapers for Hamilton's enemies. Although elsewhere the Alien and Sedition Acts constituted the most important party issue, the Salem newspapers during the year scarcely mentioned them. Only by virtue of the fact that the Crowninshields deplored the French war did the family find themselves on Jefferson's side.

The Crowninshield role in local Salem society is another consideration crucial to an understanding of the development of Crowninshield Republicanism. The Crowninshields were a rising family economically, and their position during the years from 1800 to 1805 underwent great change. In 1800 George Crowninshield & Sons possessed only three ships and one-third of an interest in a schooner, a total tonnage of 1249.⁴⁰ Three other merchants then controlled more tonnage, and six others owned more vessels than the Crowninshields.⁴¹ But by January, 1805, the Crowninshields owned ten ships, one bark, and one brig—a tonnage of at least 2900. Only William Gray, described by Timothy Pickering as America's greatest merchant, owned more vessels in Salem than the Crowninshields.⁴² "After a few years there will be no great necessity to be so over zealous," Jacob wrote in 1804, "but now we ought to exert ourselves & push as heavy a stock round the Cape of Good Hope as it is possible to send there."⁴³

The Crowninshields started to expand only after 1800. For a decade the brothers had captained vessels belonging either to Elias Hasket Derby, or to themselves. The Crowninshields never sailed for Derby again after 1796, and they stopped sailing as mas-

40. The firm's tonnage was abnormally large for its few vessels, for the ship *America* equalled two other conventional ships. J. D. Phillips, "Salem Merchants of 1800 and Their Vessels," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, LXXX (July 1944), 261.

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 261-263.

42. Names and number of vessels owned are taken from Crowninshield correspondence; tonnage is calculated from data in J. D. Phillips, "Who Owned the Salem Vessels in 1810," *EIHC*, LXXXIII (January 1947), 5. On Gray, see Pickering to E. Stevens, Nov. 29, 1799, in E. Gray, *William Gray of Salem Merchant* (Boston, 1914), p. 26. Gray owned seventeen ships, seven barks, thirteen brigs, and one schooner in 1807—one-fourth of the port's tonnage. R. D. Paine, *Ships and Sailors of Old Salem* (Boston, 1916), p. 170.

43. Jacob to Ben W., January 28, 1804, Crowninshield MSS., Peabody Museum.

ters of their own ships around 1800.⁴⁴ Retirement from the sea to the counting house meant settling down, taking on public duties, and masterminding a world-wide trade; it also usually signified entrance into a higher social grouping.⁴⁵ Using the profits from captain's shares and lucrative voyages by their own ships, the *America* and *Belisarius*, the Crowninshields invested in more ships and hired more men. They bought land for house lots and speculation, purchased farms, and built new warehouses and a new wharf. Assuming public responsibilities, Jacob in 1801 and George Jr., the next year served on the Board of Health, and Benjamin W. later became a selectman.⁴⁶ The family donated large sums for smallpox prevention in Marblehead and for the relief of sufferers after the Portsmouth fire in 1803.⁴⁷ Jacob was a founder and until his death treasurer of the East India Marine Society, a group comprising only East India skippers and supercargoes. The family had, therefore, every reason to expect that they were becoming leaders in Salem society.

Accompanying the rise in Crowninshield fortunes was the fall of the oligarchy which had held sway over Salem for several decades. With the death in 1799 of Elias Hasket Derby, one of America's richest and greatest merchants, his estate was splintered and divided among many heirs. The Derby hegemony in Salem gradually vanished after 1800 until by 1810 they owned only five vessels, each in conjunction with many other merchants.⁴⁸ A spirit of irascibility characterizing the public life of the younger Derbys hastened the family's loss of influence. There are reports of Hasket Derby's violent intemperance on public occasions and

44. The voyage of the ship *America*, John Crowninshield, to Bordeaux to be sold, was the last Crowninshield cruise. She cleared in December, 1802.

45. Squire Mompesson would not accept Captain Dash Inman as a son-in-law until he retired from the sea, "working captains" were "really not quite gentleman." Esther Forbes' novel of Salem, *The Running of the Tide* (Boston, 1948), p. 258.

46. Salem *Impartial Register*, November 17, 1800; *Gazette*, April 2, 1802. The family owned a large tract of land in Hampton Falls, N. H. (Jacob to Richard, May 18, 1803, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum).

47. Salem *Gazette*, November 14, 1800; Jacob to Richard, January 15, 1803, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum.

48. J. Duncan Phillips, "Who owned the Salem Vessels in 1810," EIHC, LXXXIII (January 1947), 5.

Hersey Derby's frequent brawling.⁴⁹ Several disputes over their estate became very embarrassing. Into the void in local leadership created by the decline of the Derbys the Crowninshields attempted to inject themselves.

The partisan Bentley optimistically gave the Crowninshields credit for more power than they actually had, but at least he perceived the local upheaval created by the changing positions of both families. "The great success which attended the Crowninshields," he observed, "has so far eclipsed the successors of Mr. Derby that they move in the shadow unseen. The names of Pickman & Derby no longer stand preeminent in the business & navigation of the Town."⁵⁰ The family was rising, and, typically, old Salem was loath to consider the Crowninshields socially respectable. The Gardner family was not famous, according to a member of an old Salem family, because they were not "inclined to talk as much about their accomplishments as the Crowninshields."⁵¹ The fact that the Crowninshields were not of the established New England mercantile aristocracy was to have a profound effect on their local political behavior.

Marital alliances widened the scope of friction between the Derby and the Crowninshield families. "King" Derby's sons-in-law included Benjamin Pickman, Jr., John Prince, and Nathaniel West, all members of large and prominent families. The Crowninshields were connected by marriage to the Silsbees. Most important, these family alliances had an intimate relation to the hierarchy of the Salem political system. For the Derbys and Pickmans had long been Federalist leaders, and the Crowninshields and Nathaniel Silsbee were the future chiefs of the Republicans.⁵²

The geographical distribution of the Salem population also had political consequences. Salem was a growing town, her population numbering 7921 in 1790, 9457 in 1800, and 12,613 in 1810. Much building took place, and the wealthy were the first to move to the outskirts. Affluent Republicans moved into and built up

49. On Hasket, see Bentley, *op. cit.*, III, 287. One of Hersey's exploits not noted below was his ransacking the town office seeking incriminatory data for political purposes; *Gazette*, March 11, 1806.

50. Bentley, *op. cit.*, III, 148.

51. J. D. Phillips *Salem and the Indies*, p. 76.

52. Silsbee, Jacob Crowninshield's brother-in-law and close friend, was an active Republican and later a United States Senator.

the northeast section of Salem, a region of tanyards and ropewalks hitherto far from socially respectable. The Federalist merchant princes had in 1796 begun developing a new west end. The Crowninshields were proud of the growing eastern end of Salem and scorned "the Western Part of the town as Usual in *Statequo*."⁵³ The particular pride of the migrants to the eastern part of Salem was the Common, which had been levelled and made into a public park, a project finished in 1802. Wrote a Crowninshield, "Our Common looks Beautifully & mortifies the West-end quite exceedingly."⁵⁴ The Crowninshields contributed more money to the Common project than any other family.⁵⁵ The Federalism of the west end was evinced by the names Pickering and Hamilton given to two new streets. Every town has only one "right" section, and in Salem it was the Federalist part of town. Salem, therefore, was divided into two distinct worlds, one surrounding Bentley's East Church and the other stretching along Chestnut Street with its stately mansions.

But behind the crucial social cleavage between the Derbys and Crowninshields lay a background of bickering on petty, personal grounds. The ship *Henry*, Jacob Crowninshield, aged twenty-one, master, made her very profitable maiden voyage to Calcutta for Derby in 1791. And when she returned late in 1794 after her second India voyage, Jacob Crowninshield's accounts were of questionable character in the eyes of his employer. A dispute ensued in which "old Derby's conduct" reportedly was "every thing that was detestable." Three neighbors arbitrated and awarded Crowninshield \$59.12⁵⁶ Never again were the Crowninshields to sail for "King" Derby. On a voyage to Calcutta in 1795 Ben W. Crowninshield bought the French prize *Warren Hastings* at Isle de France and sold her in Calcutta. She was

53. George Crowninshield, Sr., to Richard, August 4, 1804, Crowninshield MSS., Peabody Museum.

54. Richard to John, May 24, 1802, Crowninshield MSS., Essex Institute.

55. B. F. Browne, "An Account of the Levelling of Salem Common," EIHC, IV (January 1862), 2.

56. Bentley's sermon at the funeral of Jacob Crowninshield describes Crowninshield's early voyages; Crowninshield MSS., Peabody Museum; Jacob to Richard, December 2, 1795, Crowninshield MSS., Peabody Museum; Phillips, *Salem and the Indies*, p. 183. At the same time Derby was generous enough to offer the *Henry* to G. Crowninshield & Sons for \$500 down, the remaining \$10,000 payable after her first profitable voyage. (Jacob to Richard, January 18, 1795, Crowninshield MSS., Peabody Museum).

such a fine vessel, he reported, that if they had kept her and used her themselves, "old Derby & all his gang too might have went to h—."⁵⁷ Old George Crowninshield and Elias Hasket Derby each had married the other's sister. But the Crowninshields could not bring themselves to attend Elizabeth Crowninshield Derby's funeral in 1799.⁵⁸ One of the roots of the Crowninshield-Derby feud, therefore, was petty animosity.

Commercial rivalry constituted another reason for perpetuating the family feud. Any large mercantile operation required a wharf reaching water deep enough to serve the largest vessels. Salem harbor is shallow, and the channel lies a long way out from shore. Wharves, therefore, had to be large and expensive, and merchants owning only a few vessels used wharves belonging to the larger merchants. Profit accrued to the wharf owner who provided the users with repairs, services, and warehouse space. Hopefully, too, those enjoying the use of a wharf would buy and transport to Europe "goods entitled to Drawback" which the wharf owner had imported from the Indies. Much of the rivalry between the large merchants hinged on competition to attract business to their wharves. The longer the wharf, the deeper the water it reached, and the more shipping it would attract.

A great deal of the Derbys' hostility to the Crowninshields grew out of this rivalry between wharves. Along the waterfront, starting at the head of the harbor, a series of wharves stretched fingerlike toward the channel. Derby's constant effort had been to keep the other wharves in bounds, that is, short enough not to jeopardize the attractiveness of his own long pier. In 1791 a town committee established a line beyond which wharves could not extend. In the March meeting "King" Derby vigorously pleaded that in compliance with the line, the wharf built by Wait and Pierce should be removed.⁵⁹ In 1796 Derby sued the Crowninshields ostensibly because their wharf caused silting in the channel. When the case appeared before the state Supreme Court sitting in Salem, Elias Hasket Derby, William Gray, and "The most respectable citizens were witnesses against C[rrowninshield]," and the public thronged

57. B. W. Crowninshield to George & John Crowninshield, November 17, 1795, Crowninshield MSS, Essex Institute.

58. Bentley, *op. cit.*, II, 301.

59. Bentley, *op. cit.*, I, 151.

the Court House.⁶⁰ Levi Lincoln, the future Jeffersonian Attorney General, argued the Crowninshield defense, but the jury ruled that twelve feet had to be chopped off the wharf.⁶¹ The first round in the prolonged battle of the wharves thus went to the Derbys.

But before long they had a second and longer Crowninshield wharf to contend with. Because the government refused to accept the ship *America*, the Crowninshields in 1798 built a pier in the channel unconnected with the shore to accommodate the huge vessel in Salem Harbor.⁶² Three years later they joined this pier to the shore, thereby constructing a long and imposing wharf. India Wharf, as it was called, ready for use in January, 1802, was an eminently successful venture, with never fewer than five vessels docked there. The wharf attracted William Gray's *Lucia* by its superior accommodations or "she w^d never have been sent among the 'Jacobins'."⁶³ The marked success of the wharf, however, stirred up resentment. Elias Hasket Derby, Jr., brought suit against the length of the wharf in October, 1803, and with much political notoriety the litigation continued for three years.

These quarrels served as a prelude to more serious ones which occurred after 1801. In the process of adjusting themselves to new roles within the Salem community, the Crowninshields and the group headed by the Derbys continually harassed each other. Political activity gave the Crowninshields a chance to vaunt their newly-found economic importance by giving them a measure of leadership in Salem society. Actually family strife did not really have political effect until after 1800, when the issue of war with France died out. Then, in the absence of national issues, politics acquired a local orientation and became the vehicle in which to carry the struggle between the old and new families to completion.

The events of 1802 climaxed the early years of Crowninshield political activity. For in November of that year the reins of political power changed hands. Salem politics after 1800 showed no concern with national political issues. During early 1801 Salem demonstrated little excitement over any politics, local or national.

60. *Ibid.*, II, 205.

61. Jacob to John and Ben W., November 10, 1796, Crowninshield MSS., Essex Institute.

62. G. G. Putnam, *op. cit.*, series IV, 125.

63. Bentley, *op. cit.*, II, 408; Jacob to Richard, June 15, 1803, Crowninshield MSS., Peabody Museum.

But at the end of that year and throughout the next excited political agitation was a powerful force in Salem life. As 1802 dawned, there existed a situation in which political hysteria was thriving along with an insensibility toward national issues. Salem politicos came to regard the stakes of national politics as trivial in comparison with those of the Salem struggle.

The *Register's* sudden and virtually unexplained shift to Jefferson testified to the superficiality of Salem's concern with national affairs early in 1801. When it became certain that Jefferson would be elected, the Republicans jumped to his support. First appeared the announcement couched in dispassionate terms, that "we trust his administration will well accord with his fame" and then a re-print from a New York paper conceding that although Jefferson was not "all powerful, all good, all wise," his administration ought to be given a "fair experiment."⁶⁴ John Adams had been defeated, and, more discouraging to his Salem friends of 1800, all the Federalists were now "his friends and panegyricists [sic]." The *Register* on this account begged all former Adams men to come to Jefferson's standard.⁶⁵ A natural process, the Republican shift to Jefferson had been swift and easy.

Salem's political lethargy of early 1801 reached a low ebb at the May election for town representatives to the General Court. Ebenezer Beckford, Benjamin Pickman, and William Prescott, all prominent militia officers, were elected without Republican opposition; only one hundred citizens voted.⁶⁶ It was thought that "to accept one service [militia officer] & oppose another [representative] was inconsistent."⁶⁷ The incident was significant as a reversion to the traditional pattern of political behavior. For in the past, whenever there was no engrossing national concern, then political *ennui* invariably descended upon local politics.

Political leadership in established towns like Salem had long been the province of the rich, educated, and articulate. The prominent families provided, nominated, and elected candidates for

64. Salem *Impartial Register*, February 2, 5, 1801.

65. *Ibid.*, October 26, 1801. The Crowninshields followed suit, for Jacob warned that the name of their new schooner "may be any thing but 'John Jay.' Jefferson is as good a one as you can give her." (Jacob to Richard, November 28, 1801, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum). The *Jay*, alias *Jefferson*, became George, Jr.'s private yacht.

66. Salem *Impartial Register*, May 18, 1801; William Prescott was Salem's leading lawyer and the father of the famous historian.

67. Bentley, *op. cit.*, II, 372.

political office. A candidate's name mysteriously appeared in the local newspaper, and shortly afterwards he was elected by a few citizens assembled in a town meeting. In the spring elections of 1801, as in other periods free from excitement over a special issue, politics were in the hands of a few individuals, all apathetic toward national affairs.

This mode of political behavior determined the nature of political parties. The poor and middle classes ignored politics, and, if they did participate, it was under the direction of their betters. Political differentiation among local chiefs, if it existed, was of a factional rather than a doctrinal sort.

But the structure and purposes of parties underwent striking changes beginning late in 1801. An increasing use of the spoils system, caucus meetings, and political festivals bespoke the fact that the fervid spirit of 1800 had come to life again. Relapse early in the year to the traditional nature of political behavior had been only momentary. These three signs of the changing character of parties, which we shall study in detail, all denoted political excitement not stimulated, for once, by national politics.

Federalists held the Customs House collectorships for Salem, Gloucester, and Marblehead and the Salem posts of naval officer and postmaster. All the incumbents were ripe for the Republican kill. Moaning over Republican setbacks in the April, 1802, elections, Jacob Crowninshield knew that "one thing . . . ought to be done—Mr. Jefferson ought to displace every federal officer in Massach^{ts}."⁶⁸

The first victim of the spoils system was Major Joseph Hiller, the Salem collector originally appointed by the Continental Congress. Captain John Gibaut, debt-ridden, unhealthy, and an old friend of the Crowninshields, was the family's candidate for the office. Richard sought the influence of Aaron Burr in New York, and Jacob wrote Jefferson. But in August, 1802, Jefferson appointed Colonel W. R. Lee, William Gray's man, as collector.⁶⁹ Though bitter and doubtful of Lee's Republicanism, the Crowninshields could not match the wrath of the Federalist deputy collect-

68. Jacob to John, April 6, 1802, Crowninshield MSS., Peabody Museum.

69. Jacob to N. Silsbee, November 17, 1801; Jacob to Richard, January 5, 1802; Jacob to Richard, November 28, 1801, all Crowninshield MSS., Peabody Museum.

or who declared that Jefferson's "brain . . . is so adled [sic] by . . . Genevian Renagados, & the croaking of Irish Patriots."⁷⁰ Crowninshield, influence, however, secured for Gibaut another post. William Tuck was the Gloucester collector, a man "who is boiling over red hot with his federalism."⁷¹ Jefferson ejected Tuck in favor of Gibaut, and at the same time appointed the Republican Joseph Wilson collector for Marblehead.⁷²

The spoils system next victimized Benjamin Pickman when Jefferson commissioned the radical Republican Joseph Story, the future Supreme Court justice, as town naval officer in Pickman's place. Story declined as did others offered the job, and Pickman eventually stayed on despite the Crowninshield contention that, Story's commission having been signed, Pickman was dismissed.⁷³ These episodes constituted the first encroachments of the spoils system in Salem, and Federalist wrath knew no bounds, for men "impartially selected by a Washington" were being thrown out "to make room for tribes of unprincipled & rapacious mercenaries."⁷⁴

The local party had been given a new function, that of rewarding friends with public jobs, and the effect was to help institutionalize the barrier between the parties. Previously common background and interests had effectually curbed serious dispute among leaders of potentially antagonistic factions, and only over issues of extraordinary interest, as in 1800, did they ever fall apart. Now even in time of political calm there existed an awareness of exclusion from or possession of the spoils. The system acted as a continual reminder to all of party distinction.

The employment of party caucuses was another sign of the

70. Jacob to Richard, November 24, 1801, Crowninshield MSS., Peabody Museum; *Journal of William Wait Oliver*, EIHC, LXXXI (April 1945), 137.

71. Jacob to John, May 5, 1802, Crowninshield MSS., Essex Institute; Tuck's control over Manchester was such that in two years only two Republican voters had appeared; Bentley, *op. cit.*, III, 137; *Register*, November 6, 1800, November 4, 1802. The steadier of the two was a Mr. Miller who in January got a "medal" for his virtue (Bentley, *op. cit.*, III, 137), or "Gold," as the *Gazette* claimed, to prostitute the town (January 29, 1805).

72. Salem *Register*, September 13, 20, 1802. As of January 4, 1802, the *Register* dropped "Impartial" from its title "as being superfluous."

73. Jacob to Richard, April 14, 1803, Crowninshield MSS., Peabody Museum; *Gazette*, March 18, 1803.

74. Salem *Gazette*, October 29, 1802.

changing nature of political parties. Private consultation among a few local bosses had always been the means of choosing the candidates. First instituted by the Republicans in October, 1802, caucusing became the main device by which to nominate candidates and stir up enthusiasm.⁷⁵ Each party staged two or three caucuses before every election for the rest of our period. Rudimentary in its early stages, caucusing was later used to organize the party mechanism, pass resolutions, and resolve party dissension by majority vote.⁷⁶ In its early years, caucusing, like the increasing participation in politics.

The political festival, a sign of great excitement, was another indication of the changing role of parties. Starting in 1803, March fourth, the anniversary of Jefferson's election, called forth yearly Republican extravaganzas. The first one featured a one-hundred plate dinner, a seventeen-gun salute, and suitable toasts.⁷⁷ Fourth of July celebrations, more than ever before, assumed fantastic dimensions with militia demonstrations, orations, dinners, and toasts. And beginning in 1803, the parties offered competing celebrations of the Fourth.⁷⁸ The joys of celebration days must have pervaded all walks of Salem life.

The spoils system, caucusing, and festivals were innovations in Salem life indicative of a high state of political enthusiasm. This spirit reached a peak in the 1802 elections, when the brandishing of slogans, names, and libels monopolized the electioneering discussion.

Noteworthy about these elections, however, was the failure of the newspapers to focus upon serious political issues despite the importance of several contemporary questions. Under Gallatin's inspiration, the navy had been immobilized to cut expenses, the Federalist internal taxes had been repealed, and \$7,000,000 had been earmarked to service the national debt—all measures de-

75. Bentley, *op. cit.*, II, 354, 455.

76. Cf. *Salem Gazette*, November 7, 1806, reported that the Republican caucus split on the issue of commercial restriction against England. The breach was resolved by a resolution approved by the majority. ratio of voters to the total population, reflected broader popular

77. *Salem Register*, March 7, 1803.

78. Cf. Bentley, *op. cit.*, III, 95. "As we are in competition, it will . . . produce more than ever was done before in Salem," and, sure enough, according to a participant, "the republicans seemed to enjoy the day with the highest pleasure" Jacob to John, July 10, 1804, Crowninshield MSS., Essex Institute.

plored by the Federalists nationally. In Massachusetts there was much opposition to the choice of presidential electors by the Legislature, and to the suffrage restrictions imposed by the election law of March, 1801. Though all these issues were especially pertinent early in 1802, they evoked little electioneering discussion during the year. Thus accompanying the year's political hysteria was an apathy toward legitimate state and national issues.

This seeming anomaly was illustrated by the *Register's* outlook preceding the April, 1802, election, a contest in which Jacob Crowninshield and Benjamin Pickman were Salemites contending for State Senator from Essex County. Caleb Strong, the Federalist gubernatorial candidate, after twenty-seven years, still remained "the servile addressor of the infamous GAGE," and the *Register* repeatedly printed the memorial he had signed in 1775 with twenty-seven other Massachusetts lawyers.⁷⁹ Many comments explored the several implications of C. C. Pinckney's election "to the dignified office of the President of the Charleston Jockey Club." And published after fifteen years of slumber was Hamilton's *Proposals . . . For Establishing a Constitution*. . . ., article four of which stated that the president ought to be elected during good behavior. Hamilton's *amour* with Marie Reynolds signified nothing less than that "our wives and daughters should be held as common stock property." The salacious Hamilton had deceived "the hoary patriot Adams;" "Whoremongers and Adulterers . . . God will judge." And in sharp contrast with the aristocratic *Gazette* which could call sailors "the sweepings of vessels' holds," Jacob Crowninshield "thinks no man beneath his notice."⁸⁰ This type of banter characterized electioneering in the *Register*.

The *Gazette* conducted a similar campaign by completely disregarding the Jeffersonian fiscal, naval, and judicial innovations. Though Crowninshield was conceded to be rich, clever, and industrious, his opponents harped upon his inexperience. It was sad, declared the Federalists, that Crowninshield was the only candidate the Republicans ever seemed to be able to find.⁸¹

The contest was fierce; "Letters are sent, the presses smoak, [sic] & conversation has the constant tang of politics." Never,

79. See *Salem Register*, March 11, 1802.

80. *Salem Register*, March 18, 22, April 1, 22, 1802.

81. *Salem Gazette*, April 2, 1802.

reported Bentley, were greater exertions made in Essex County.⁸² The Federalists swept the State, County, and Town, but Crowninshield lost a seat in the state senate by only thirty votes. The campaigning had no relevance to crucial political issues, yet the election had been furiously contested. This agitation supplanted the tranquility which had traditionally prevailed during periods unexcited over national affairs. The November election for Congressman highlights most clearly that problem left unsolved by the April election: what, if not a national issue, stirred up all the excitement.

The November election promised a bitter clash because Timothy Pickering was to play a part. Dismissed from the Adams cabinet in May, 1800, Pickering had retired Cincinnatus-like to his Pennsylvania claims. But, a native of Salem and, with Harrison Gray Otis, one of the active Essex Junto politicians, he shortly was told to come home.

Arguing that "Roman virtues require Roman times," the Salem lawyers Timothy Williams and Samuel Putnam extracted his promise that he would return if his lands could be sold advantageously.⁸³ Within a year Pickering sold 19,000 acres of wilderness for \$25,000; 250 shares were sold, each costing one hundred dollars. William Gray took twenty shares and Pickman, Prescott, William Orne, and S. P. Gardner each obtained between five and ten shares. Bostonians in the deal were John Lowell, Thomas H. Perkins, and Stephen Higginson. All these men and the many more who contributed were the Federalist chiefs of Salem and Boston. By the end of 1801, his friends had en- sconced Pickering safely on a Danvers farm with his \$11,000 debt repaid.⁸⁴

On September 22, 1802, the Federalists announced him as their candidate for Congressman from Essex Middle District. "We

82. Bentley, *op. cit.*, II, 421; Someone plastered the *Gazette* office door with mud, and William Carlton was threatened with a libel suit for his comment that "It is a bad bird that befools its own nest." (*Salem Register*, April 1, 5, 1802).

83. Octavius Pickering and Charles W. Upham, *Life of Timothy Pickering* (Boston, 1872), IV, 5, 26. Of Williams and Putnam's sudden trip to Philadelphia, Jacob rightly suspected "some political scheme in the embryo [sic] of their heads" (—Jacob to John, May 28, 1800, Crowninshield MSS, Essex Institute). Samuel Putnam married Pickering's niece and later became Chief Justice of the state Supreme Court.

84. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

are astonished at the nomination," admitted the *Register*; indeed the Salem Republicans faced not the tool of the Junto they believed Nathan Read to be but one of its very princes. The martyred saint of the Hamiltonian Federalists, Pickering epitomized a faction espousing the most violent Anglophilic and undemocratic notions.⁸⁵ Jacob Crowninshield as usual became his party's choice in a seemingly hopeless struggle against a man who had been in public service since the Revolution.

The newspapers conducted a listless argument over the financial and judicial issues. An "aristocratic experiment" now, the Adams administration, argued the *Register*, had squandered money on naval expenses, standing armies, and secret service funds. The *Gazette* countered this accusation on the grounds first that Republican-inspired insurrections had demanded the exceptional expenses, and second, that a contradiction was inherent in repealing taxes while paying off the national debt.⁸⁶ The Republicans, it was also alleged, were compromising the independence of the judiciary by "kicking the judges out of the cabin windows." But Timothy Pickering had recently acceded to the chief justiceship of the Court of Common Pleas, and his friends had qualms about proclaiming a judge running for elective office a defender of judicial independence.⁸⁷ Finances and the judiciary were the only issues that the newspapers treated as strictly national. And the little attention devoted to them indicates that for Salem they were of minor importance.

There were other subjects which had a basic relevance to national affairs, but which when under discussion in Salem, were not placed within their national context. The Salem press harped on these issues only because each provided a framework for systematic attack on personalities. The national problem of British depredations received this sort of airing. In 1799 Captain Matson of the British ship-of-war *Daphne* hailed Captain Giles, an American, aboard his vessel, and when Giles appeared on deck papers in

85. Pickering "fully identified the national interest with the interests of maritime commerce" [H. P. Prentiss, *Timothy Pickering as the Leader of New England Federalism* (reprint from EIHC Jan., April, 1933) April, 1934, p. 5.]

86. Salem *Register*, October 21, 25, 1802; Salem *Gazette*, October 29, 1802.

87. Salem *Gazette*, October 29, 1802; Pickering was even accused of being ineligible to run for Congress (Salem *Register*, October 18, 1802).

hand, the British flogged him. As Secretary of State, Pickering refused to ask for British redress, because of Matson's indirect testimony that Giles had been drunk. But two American seamen had testified to the contrary. And Pickering had therefore sinned by acquiescing in the outrage and by accepting an Englishman's statement in preference to one from American seamen.⁸⁸ On the other hand, during the same year Crowninshield himself had rescued two American seamen from a long impressment aboard a British frigate. Equipped with bribes and certificates of nationality, he had personally boarded the vessel in New York Harbor. Wrote "Tom Steadybreeze," Crowninshield "minded neither his life, or his purse, to get my messmates' discharge—and got it too, in spite of the tyrannical son of a bitch of a Captain's . . . curses."⁸⁹ The callous Pickering, it was hoped, suffered greatly in comparison with such a shining knight as Crowninshield. At issue, therefore, was a testing of personalities and not primarily the general question of British abuses.

The issue of naval strength was another which Salem discussed principally in terms of the personalities involved. The Crowninshields, as we have seen, never contributed to the *Essex* fund, a neglect which displayed according to the *Gazette* narrow-mindedness and unstatesmanlike qualities. The family had been so engrossed in trade as to neglect providing for its protection.⁹⁰ In addition, the Crowninshields had tried to cheat the government, for when offered to the Secretary of the Navy, the ships *America* and *Belisarius* supposedly both had been rotten. But, as the *Register* pointed out, vessels actually accepted by the government had been rotten, and that the *America* had made three subsequent successful India voyages.⁹¹ The discussion of the naval question thus revolved around Crowninshield doings, rather than the most pertinent aspect of naval policy, Jefferson's liquidation of the navy.

The Barbary war was another subject of discussion. "By their

88. Salem *Register*, October 21, 25, 1802.

89. *Ibid.*, October 11, 1802; cf. October 28 (supplement), 1800; the newspapers vied for the most authentic sailor lingo. "D—n him—let him speak like a man and a sailor, and we shall understand him, but none of his federal palaver." (*Register*, October 11, 1802).

90. Salem *Gazette*, October 5, 1802.

91. *Ibid.*, October 26, 29, 1802; Salem *Register*, October 28 (supplement), 1802.

deeds shall ye know them," pontificated the *Register*. \$78,588.11 given to Secretary of State Pickering to send as tribute to Algiers had instead become the secret service money, and at the time, 1800, American payments to the pirate nation had been in arrears. The Crowninshield ship *Brutus*, cruising in the Mediterranean, sailed to Algiers, there to draw forty thousand dollars in specie on the firm's London account. The captain turned the money over to the Bey of Algiers. Thus Crowninshield patriotism seemingly had saved the peace in the face of Pickering's dishonesty, which had exposed the nation to an Algerian war.⁹² The *Gazette* claimed that patriotism, however, had not been unprofitable, for the government had repaid the Crowninshields with interest and at the time specie had been cheaper in Algiers than in Europe.⁹³ Again, the debate on the Barbary pirates hinged on personalities, instead of on the crux of the problem—whether tribute or naval strength would most effectively intimidate pirate nations.

Pickering's character fell victim to a severe drubbing. As a militia colonel leading the Salem regiment to Lexington in 1775, Pickering allegedly had stopped at Medford, waited, and gone home. The *Register* wondered whether to attribute his dallying to British sympathy or to "instinct" of the sort Falstaff once displayed. The attack reached a climax when it was supposed that of the \$500,000 which the British ambassador distributed to American Anglophiles, "some little token" had been given to Pickering.⁹⁴ Crowninshield's integrity was immune from slander. But the inexperienced Republican candidate, it was predicted, would certainly become a "blind tool" in the hands of his party chiefs. Pickering had served the country for more than a quarter of a century, and Crowninshield in comparison "is no more than the twinkling of a fire bug to the blaze of the meridian sun."⁹⁵

The day of judgment, November 1, was rainy, the selectmen firm, and the voting orderly—"an important event in our history."⁹⁶ Crowninshield, sweeping both Salem and the district, was

92. *Salem Register*, October 28 (supplement), 1800.

93. *Salem Gazette*, October 29, 1802; the Crowninshields never were paid any interest. See William Brown's letter to G. Crowninshield & Sons, December 9, 1800, (Crowninshield MSS, Essex Institute), accompanying the government's paying of \$40,000 alone.

94. *Salem Register*, October 28 (supplement), 1802.

95. *Salem Gazette*, October 8, 12, 1802.

96. Bentley, *op. cit.*, II, 456.

elected to Congress. Never before had so large a total vote been registered in Salem, and never before had the Federalists lost an official election in Essex County.⁹⁷

The *Gazette* comment that "It is now proved that 'our Family' can do what they please in this town" crystallizes the spirit of the election. The Federalists did not attack Crowninshield on account of his party. Accusations of inexperience and of subsidizing the *Register* were made, but not that of being a "democrat." And despite Pickering's ascendancy in his party, the Republicans surprisingly neglected to use his candidacy as a springboard for a general attack on the Federalist party. They denounced Pickering either for dishonesty or for those of his policies which could be shown to contradict certain Crowninshield viewpoints. The debate was carried on in terms, therefore, of Crowninshield the individual versus Pickering the individual; no political problem outside Salem appears to have been at issue.

"Appeals to the voters in New Hampshire and Massachusetts, where the struggle was closest and most exciting," one writer says, "show few traces of a definite party program."⁹⁸ This general analysis admirably describes the Salem situation at the end of 1802. The spoils system, caucusing, political celebrations, and electioneering hysteria all signified great interest in and intense excitement over politics. Yet the rationality of the discussion of national issues had seriously deteriorated since the French war. Although the Crowninshields became Republicans because of the French war, why they remained politically active and Salem re-

97. Salem *Gazette*, November 2, 1802. In Salem Crowninshield took 552 votes to Pickering's 475. To illustrate the dead seriousness with which Crowninshields took their politics, the noisy and nocturnal visit which Richard and Ben W. Crowninshield and Joseph Story made on the *Gazette* editor a week after the election is instructive. Their purpose was to exact an apology for his reference to "our Family." Ben, so it was alleged, threatened that his brother George "would shoot me [Cushing] in the dark if he could not do it in the day time" (*Gazette*, November 12, 1802). This was an exaggeration, claimed Jacob, calculated to put Ben in jail. (Jacob to Richard, November 15, 1802, Crowninshield MSS., Peabody Museum). For the libel that Timothy Pickering had accepted a bribe, William Carlton in April, 1803, was convicted by a jury nine-tenths Federalist, according to Jacob, and sentenced to two months imprisonment, a fine, and a heavy bond for two years of good behavior. Samuel Putnam, "a mighty blusterer," prosecuted Carlton. (Bentley, *op. cit.*, III, 20, 24; Jacob to Richard, April 26, 1803, Crowninshield MSS., Peabody Museum.)

98. W. A. Robinson, *Jeffersonian Democracy in New England* (New Haven, 1916), 50.

mained politically excited—given the unconcern with national problems—we have yet to explain.

Local issues dominated Salem politics after 1801. Politics became part of a struggle within Salem society, one which saw a once firmly established oligarchy striving first to suppress, and then to keep even with, an insurgent group of new families. The Crowninshield feud with the Derbys broke out in almost every area of Salem life during 1802 and 1803. And to carry the feud to victory—to leadership within the town—the Crowninshields resorted to politics.

There are three crucial facets of Crowninshield political behavior from 1802 through 1806. One is the first phase of local politics during this period—a phase of repression in which the Crowninshields suffered under a Derby campaign to bar their rise socially and economically. Another is Jacob Crowninshield's early Congressional career which clearly displayed the local orientation of his politics. And finally, there is the second phase of local politics during the period—during which the Crowninshields wrenched local leadership from the Derbys and their Federalist allies.

The Crowninshields became the victims during 1803 of strenuous efforts on the part of the Derby cohorts to throttle their economic prosperity. Shortly after the new Crowninshield wharf had begun to prosper, as we have seen, it became the subject of Hasket Derby's law suit brought in October, 1803, on the ground that the wharf was causing silt to collect around its neighbor, Derby Wharf. This charge disguised the real foundation for the suit, the fact that Crowninshield Wharf was too long, reaching the deepest waters of the harbor. Another ground for the suit was the family's allegedly questionable title to the land from which the new wharf had been built. The Crowninshields lost the case and the wharf had to be shortened. But in another suit which followed shortly, Derby charged that Crowninshield wharf was still too long; it obstructed navigation. This aspect of the wharf litigation dragged on until 1806. "So poor man [George Crowninshield] he goes from Court to Court. . . . The truth is that the

success of his sons has excited envy & party delights to Mortify & distress the family."⁹⁹

Another economic restraint inspired by the Federalists was one the Crowninshields feared rather than experienced. The banking maneuvers of 1803 indicated that the Crowninshields were afraid that control of the town finances was falling into Federalist hands.

Early in the year the Salem Marine Insurance Company made proposals for a second Salem bank. The old bank, the Essex Bank, directed by the Federalists William Gray, John Norris, and William Orne, retaliated by founding another insurance company under the same directorate, the Essex Fire and Marine Insurance Company, capitalized at 300,000 dollars.¹⁰⁰ The Crowninshields, loath to support either group, were in a quandary. They had long been in dispute with the Salem Marine Insurance Company over the adjustments due them for the loss of their ships *Brutus* and *Ulysses*. These rancorous negotiations had ended in a Crowninshield defeat with Richard throwing the "policy on their floor" and telling the underwriters that it was "of no more value than blank paper."¹⁰¹ On the other hand, Federalists had engrossed all the shares of the new Essex Fire and Marine Insurance Company, and, unhappily, "none are left for us."¹⁰² The Crowninshields, therefore, joined others in establishing the Mechanics Bank, an institution which, unaffiliated with the other banks, "will finally help the republican cause."¹⁰³ Jacob's victory lay in excluding Elias Hasket Derby Jr. and Samuel Putnam from the new bank, and of the former it was said that "it mortifies him not a little."¹⁰⁴ For the Crowninshields the establishment of a Republican bank signified independence from control of their finances by the persons who most deplored their rise.

99. Bentley, *op. cit.*, III, 48, 153. "No pains are spared to correct the rashness of the Old Man & to diminish the prosperity of that active Family."

100. J. D. Phillips, *Salem and the Indies* (Boston, 1947), p. 219.

101. Jacob to John, May 8, 1802, Crowninshield MSS., Essex Institute. The famous Washington's birthday storm of 1802 wrecked both vessels off Cape Cod, the *Brutus* losing all but four hands. (*Salem Register*, March 8, 1802).

102. Jacob to Richard, January 22, 1803, Crowninshield MSS., Peabody Museum.

103. Jacob to Richard, March 1, 1803, Crowninshield MSS., Peabody Museum.

104. Jacob to Richard, April 14, 1803, Crowninshield MSS., Peabody Museum.

Not only did the Federalists seem to oppose the family's economic growth, but they also appeared to be denying the Crowninshields any participation in positions of social leadership. The Derbys used means afforded them by their lofty position to keep the Crowninshields from gaining a share of the power. The large merchant families could dominate many activities within a small town by capitalizing on their position as employers. A great multitude of dependents subsisted on the commercial prosperity of a very few of their neighbors. Sailmakers, cordwainers, shipwrights, pumpmakers, blockmakers indirectly, and domestic servants, stevedores, and common seamen directly tied their economic lot to jobs handed out by the merchants. William Gray alone employed more than three hundred men. Thus the Crowninshields were not ones to miss the chance to swamp Timothy Pickering on election day by herding to the polls the crew of the *America* fresh from the Indies, that of another vessel which they had detained, and the men building their wharf.¹⁰⁵ But Federalist merchants such as Pickman, Derby, Gray, Orne, and John Norris, combined, had more employees. The Crowninshields naturally stood in awe of their antagonists' latent power, especially late in 1802 when they decided to exercise it. When the Derbys fired their wharfinger, Samuel Ward, because he had voted Republican, they had a more grandiose scheme in mind. In order to control the votes of their employees, they planned to blacklist all Republicans from employment by Federalists.¹⁰⁶ Though previously the Federalists could lead their "*black servants . . . dependants' and 'doltish neighbors'*" to elections,¹⁰⁷ the blacklist would presumably force all employees to vote Federalist in order to retain their jobs. Only because William Gray refused to participate did the scheme fail.¹⁰⁸

Late in 1802 the established Salem families were particularly militant. Naturally the dancing assembly, the "crowning glory of the social season," could not tolerate social levelers, and in Novem-

¹⁰⁵. This account is the *Gazette's*, November 5, 1802. For the *America's* opportune arrival see "Impost Books," Salem Customs House Records, Essex Institute.

¹⁰⁶. Bentley, *op. cit.*, II, 458.

¹⁰⁷. *Salem Register*, April 22, 1802.

¹⁰⁸. E. Gray, *William Gray of Salem, Merchant* (Boston, 1914), p. 38.

ber the Federalist ejected the Republicans from the "Court Ball."¹⁰⁹ The Crowninshields, Silsbees, Stones, and Hathornes were excluded from the assembly, and although only female Republicans reportedly felt slighted, dancing segregation became a party issue. In reply to their written requests for an explanation, the excluded received a curt note disclosing that their letters would not be examined; this correspondence which "*will shew some features of what is called federalism*" was lodged in the *Register* office for the perusal of all. Dancing segregation "arose from the irreconcileable enmity of the Derby & Crowninshield families" and particularly out of a move by the *ancien régime* to solidify their leadership within Salem society.¹¹⁰

Another Derby prerogative—control of the militia—the Republicans successfully parried in January, 1803. Elias Hasket Derby Jr., colonel of the Salem regiment, sent a letter to one of his captains to be read before a company about to choose an ensign. There was a Republican candidate, and the letter, "denouncing disorganizers," supported William Gray's son for the post. Although Derby probably expected the usual compliance, the letter had no influence, and the militiamen elected the Republican George Archer as their ensign in a "triumph in favor of correct principles." "Derby rants and raves," Jacob Crowninshield recorded.¹¹¹

Thus the disputes involving the wharf and the banks demonstrated for the Crowninshields the Federalist determination to bar their economic rise. And the conflict surrounding the Federalist blacklist, the dancing assembly, and the militia evinced a determination to keep social leadership from the pretentious Republicans. Yet competition for economic and social preëminence did not account for all of the hostility.

The presence of a few cantankerous personalities meant that part of the dispute stemmed from personal bitterness. Old George Crowninshield was the litigious family warhorse, and although Jacob and Richard often attended the family court cases, even

^{109.} J. D. Phillips, "Salem in the Nineties," EIHC, XC (January 1954), Jacob to Richard, November 24, 1802, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum. Even future Supreme Court Justice Joseph Story was ostracized. See W. W. Story, *Life of Joseph Story* (Boston, 1857) I, 86.

^{110.} *Salem Register*, January 6, 1803; Bentley, *op. cit.*, III, 2, 201.

^{111.} Jacob to Richard, January 25, 1803, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum; Bentley, *op. cit.*, III, 5.

they were prone to ridicule their father's aggressiveness. In correspondence it was "the Old man tried again" or "the old gent is full of trouble," and occasionally the sons speculated on whether business suffered on account of their father's preoccupation with law suits.¹¹² Even the family friend Bentley recalled that "the first words ever said to me of Salem were, Beware of G. C[crowninshield]."¹¹³ He was a "son of nature. He had powers employed only in seafaring concerns" and it was "the character of the Father, which is the most impudent to be imagined" that impeded Jacob's political ambitions.¹¹⁴ This old merchant, a sea captain long before the Revolution, was the family cutting edge in local political warfare.

Late in 1801 George Crowninshield was squabbling over a right of way on land at the head of the old Crowninshield wharf. When his antagonist, the widow Ward, built a fence from her house to the water's edge limiting access to the wharf, George Crowninshield at the head of a band of hardy axmen chopped the fence down. William Gray, Mrs. Ward's brother-in-law, hailed Crowninshield into court, where, despite his plea that the land along the water was common land, he was ordered to pay damages. In addition to achieving a victory for Elias Hasket Derby, Jr., who was Mrs. Ward's uncle and who had inspired the construction of the fence,¹¹⁵ Gray also secured a grand jury ruling that Crowninshield be indicted for inciting riot. This grand jury stood eight Republicans to twelve Federalists, reported Jacob, and therefore believed, with the *Gazette*, that the fence had fallen "a victim to the levelling rage of Jacobinism."¹¹⁶ Argued in April, 1803, the riot case was ordered continued "to the Mortification of the Fed" at the autumn court session; in fact, a decision was postponed until 1806.¹¹⁷

Aggravated by bitter trivialities rooted in a contest for local

¹¹² Richard to John, April 10, 1806; Jacob to John, April 16, 1802, Crowninshield MSS, Essex Institute; Jacob to Richard, November 17, 1801, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum. Jacob took enough interest in one suit to forego attending the famous launching of the Crowninshield ship *Fame*. Launchings were the town's greatest public spectacle. (Jacob to Richard, November 11, 1802, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum).

¹¹³ Bentley, *op. cit.*, II, 453; IV, 335; II, 375.

¹¹⁴ Bentley, *op. cit.*, II, 457; Jacob to Richard, November 15, 1802, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum.

¹¹⁵ Jacob to Richard, November 24, 1802, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum; *Salem Gazette*, August 30, 1803.

¹¹⁶ Jacob to Richard, April 21, 1803, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum.

leadership, the Crowninshields' conflict with the Derbys had stakes of momentous consequences for the family. Everything tangible predicted their rise, yet important barriers worked against it. They had built a wharf; their commercial activities rapidly expanded; Jacob had become a Congressman; still, the old families continued to interfere with their economic independence and to perpetuate their social inferiority. To grasp their share, and perhaps more, of local leadership the Crowninshields resorted to politics. If they could establish themselves at the head of a Republican majority, the Derby, Pickman, and Gray forces would lose the basis for local leadership. Moreover, by undercutting the mastery of local Federalism, the Crowninshields themselves would gain the laurels due unto political bosses.

Salem politics, then, had at stake supremacy in Salem itself. Her politicos thus came to assign an increasing role in their electioneering to techniques of organization. From the newspapers, it appears that interest in strategy was supplanting the former concern with real political issues in Salem political life. This business-like complexion which political activity assumed accords with the *raison d'être* of politics as the Crowninshields saw it.

The elaborate functions taken on by the pre-election caucus testified to the tactical imagination of the politicians.¹¹⁷ The Federalists pioneered in utilizing the caucus to perfect the party machinery, "their work having been usually performed in the dark." The party's first caucus, which took place before the April, 1803, election, spawned a giant one-hundred man committee to distribute election tickets.¹¹⁸ Each party had always printed tickets before an election, and now the "Grand Committee," divided by wards, delivered Federalist tickets to as many citizens as would take them and show up at the election. The device was a good one for prodding the recalcitrant. The Republicans expanded the functions of the caucus even further. Not only did they take up the use of the distributing committee, but by November, 1804,

¹¹⁷. Town caucuses became incorporated into the state-wide party organization. The Massachusetts Republican legislative caucus nominated a governor and lieutenant governor, county "conventions" endorsed them and nominated officeholders from the county or district, and the town caucus endorsed all the nominations. (See Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-65). The state Federalist organization paralleled the machinery of the Republicans. (See Samuel E. Morison, *Life and Letters of Harrison Gray Otis* (Boston, 1913), I, 290.

¹¹⁸. Jacob to Richard, March 25, 1803; Jacob to Richard, March 31, 1803, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum; See Bentley, *op. cit.*, III, 17.

they also had formed ward committees to make certain that every eligible Republican voter put his name on the voting list. This caucus gave birth to another committee ordered to "attend the stairs of the Court House [where voting took place] . . . to distribute votes, and for all other purposes which may forward the cause. . . ."¹¹⁹

Another technique of electioneering which Salem politicians mastered was manipulation of election meetings. The flexibility of voting methods opened up great opportunity for maneuvering. The April, 1803, election, for example, ushered in a new system—one in which the citizens handed in their tickets one by one. The Federalists took advantage of the new method by rushing into the Court House to vote first. For nearly six hours the hall was packed while the Federalists—nearest the voting boxes—dallied.¹²⁰ The Republicans naturally attributed their defeat to the failure of many of their number to vote before closing time.¹²¹ Salem used the same system again in the May election, and again the voting lagged. Jacob Crowninshield did his best to persuade the meeting to extend the closing hour from four to five o'clock. Turned down, he then disputed the official version of four o'clock, suggesting that the East Church clock "might not have struck;" the meeting, however, rejected Bentley's Republican time.¹²² Analyzing a "feast of souls" consisting of the "Editor . . . Attorney, and 'Family,'" the *Gazette* in March, 1803, accurately predicted that the Republicans had decided to elect town officers on a party basis.¹²³ The innovating Republicans foresaw that selectmen of a given party could influence election meetings over which

119. *Salem Register*, November 5, 1804; George, Jr. and Ben W. Crowninshield held places on the latter committee. The requirement to be on the voting list resulted from the Massachusetts election law of March 7, 1801. Fourteen days before every election the selectmen had to post a list of citizens who, according to the assessors, satisfied the property qualifications. The selectmen were required by the law to hear appeals from the excluded on the morning of the election, and the parties took the initiative in sending citizens to the court house to make their appeals. (*Salem Register*, March 29, 1802). It was the persistent Republican charge that the election law was unconstitutional (*Register*, March 22, 1802) and that many qualified citizens were unfairly kept off the list (Jacob to John, April 6, 1802, Crowninshield MSS, Essex Institute).

120. Bentley, *op. cit.*, III, 18. Jacob to Richard, April 6, 1803, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum. The Republicans had been warned of the Federalist strategy (*Register*, March 24, 1803).

121. *Salem Register*, April 7, 1803.

122. *Salem Gazette*, May 17, 1803.

123. *Ibid.*, March 1, 1803. The *Gazette* made reference respectively to William Carlton, Joseph Story, and the Crowninshields.

they presided in favor of their party; "once get in good Democratic Selectmen, and we know very well what follows."¹²⁴ In 1804 the Republicans in preparation for electing selectmen even held a caucus and formed a distributing committee, solemnly announcing a Jeffersonian ticket for overseers of the poor.¹²⁵

Mobilization of political power for the Salem Republicans had one purpose—election victory. In 1803 they elected their slate of selectmen and for the rest of the period under study continued to monopolize all local offices. Town representatives to the state Legislature were perennially Republican after the initial victory in May, 1803. Essex County Republican candidates for the state Senate were victorious in Salem after April, 1804, although the county at large continued to support the Federalist ticket. If in Essex County the question was still open in 1805 whether or not it would "cast . . . upon the tempestuous ocean of anarchy," in Salem the answer had come in 1804 by "[a return] to Pure Repⁿ Principles, from which may we never Depart."¹²⁶

Electioneering after 1802 found primary concern, it has been seen, in strategical considerations. Emphasis on political procedure to the virtual exclusion of substantive matters was the effect of the special rationalization Salem gave for her party battles. For political strife in the town grew out of implacable acrimony between new, expansive families and the established, mercantile aristocracy. The Crowninshields remained Republicans, therefore, not to satisfy general political convictions, but rather to destroy local Federalism and, in so doing, to oust the entrenched leaders of Salem society.

124. *Ibid.*, February 25, 1804.

125. *Salem Register*, March 12, 1804.

126. *Salem Gazette*, March 26, 1805; Benjamin W. to John, November 10, 1804, Crowninshield MSS, Essex Institute. That Salem was a Republican stronghold argues against the general contention that the merchant community of New England fell unanimously behind the Federalist banner. (cf. S. E. Morison, *Maritime History of Massachusetts*, p. 190).

JUSTICE CURTIS AND THE DRED SCOTT CASE

By RICHARD H. LEACH

AMONG THE MANY DISSENTS read from the bench of the United States Supreme Court none has perhaps reacted so strongly on its author's immediate position and future reputation as that of Justice Benjamin R. Curtis in the Dred Scott Case.¹ Curtis had already made a solid record of achievement in his six years on the Court and seemed well on his way toward becoming one of the two or three most eminent judges in the federal system when *Dred Scott* made further service impossible and sent him off to judicial oblivion. For *Dred Scott* led to an immediate estrangement between Curtis and Chief Justice Roger B. Taney and within five months to Curtis' resignation from the Court. Moreover, it soon came to overshadow the many constructive contributions Curtis made to American law during and after his service on the bench and indeed, to constitute almost his sole claim to judicial fame. Far from being an ordinary dissent, Curtis' position in *Dred Scott* became at once a major milepost in its author's life.

That celebrated case needs no review here. It is only necessary to recall that it was one of the most explosive cases argued before the Court in many years. From all sides, both in the press and through private channels, came demands that the Court reach a decision on the issues involved one way or another. Alexander H. Stephens frankly admitted that he was "urging all the influence [he] could bring to bear upon the Supreme Court to get them to postpone [the case] no longer . . . but to decide it . . .,"² and similar adjurations came from Republicans and abolitionists in the North. The pressures on the justices were so strong that even in conference they revealed frayed tempers. One story has it that at one point the discussion became so vehement that Taney had to remind the justices who they were to restore order and get them to take their seats once again, "like rebuked school-boys."³ Nor had the tension between them relaxed by the time the several

1. *Dred Scott v. John F. A. Sandford* 19 Howard 393, 574 seq. (1857).

2. Quoted in William E. Smith, *The Francis Preston Blair Family in Politics* (New York, 1933), I, 390.

3. The story, not authenticated, is repeated often. I have relied on Alexander A. Lawrence's version in his *James Moore Wayne* (Chapel Hill, 1943), p. 156.

opinions were delivered in early March, 1857, as the fact that each member of the Court felt it necessary to write his own opinion in the case clearly demonstrates.

Seven of the justices were at least able to agree on the main points at issue in the case—Negro citizenship and the constitutionality of the Missouri Compromise, or, to put it another way, the extent of Congress' power over slavery in the territories. Chief Justice Taney prepared the official pronouncement in the case, which Justice Wayne accepted *in toto* in a brief concurring opinion. Justices Nelson, Grier, Campbell, Catron and Daniel each voiced their individual variations upon the general Taney theme. John McLean and Benjamin R. Curtis alone rejected the majority decision completely and felt impelled to write dissenting opinions.

McLean's dissent was vigorous and forceful, but rambling and discursive. As was often the case with McLean's opinions, it seemed to have a determined ring of political oratory about it. Nor did it attempt to join issue with Taney or enter a point by point rebuttal of the majority position. If the issue were to be joined at all, it was up to Curtis to do so. And join it he did, refuting Taney's points one by one in an extensive and exhaustive legal dissertation.

Why did Curtis undertake such a task? Outwardly, he had established a remarkable record of harmony with his associates. Not only had he become personally attached to each of them, he had generally demonstrated the same attitudes and beliefs as they in the cases before them. Altogether, he had dissented from his brethren only thirteen times. Nor did he feel politically estranged from them prior to *Dred Scott*. With the possible exception of John McLean, none of his colleagues had impressed him as particularly partisan, and there is no indication in any of the Curtis papers that the question of politics had ever arisen between him and his fellow justices. It is equally improbable that Curtis himself raised that question. He prided himself on his lack of political affiliation, and despite the later claims of some⁴ that his dissent raised the free soil and anti-slavery banners of the Republican party, there is no evidence at all that Curtis ever espoused the Republican cause. From its beginning, that party had seemed to

4. See e.g. Matilda Gresham, *Life of Walter Quintin Gresham 1832-1895* (Chicago, 1919), I, 94.

him to be a sectional party, which, as a Unionist, he would have had to reject, had he been active politically after its formation. He continued to oppose the Republican party after he left the bench, and he soon became one of its sharpest critics. When he finally emerged on the political stage, it was as a Democrat and not a Republican. If his dissent reflected the "glow and fire of a faith that was content to bide its hour," as Benjamin Cardozo wrote later, or if it "stated the case for the North, the Republicans, and the abolitionists with most force,"⁵ it was certainly only a side effect and hardly Curtis' intention.

Again, although it is well known that Curtis was not entirely satisfied with all the aspects of his judicial station, and, indeed, that he was about at the point where he could no longer tolerate it,⁶ it does not square with his character that he conceived of a dissent in the Dred Scott Case as a device to soften the hearts of the anti-slavery North preparatory to his return to the bar. F. H. Hodder, following the earlier lead of Otto Gresham, first developed this thesis,⁷ and for many years it has been the accepted explanation of Curtis' action. As recently as 1951, W. E. Woodward declared that Curtis "would soon resign from the Court to return to the private practice of law. He had made a reputation—to this time—as a friend of slavery: he had defended the Fugitive Slave Law [in several cases in the circuit courts.] Massachusetts was the stormy petrel of the abolitionist movement: an anti-slavery opinion would open a lucrative law practice there. The record shows that in the following years Curtis earned \$650,000 in legal fees."⁸ But such charges have no foundation in fact, and neither Woodward nor those who made them before him have offered any evidence to support them. There is much, on the contrary, to refute such charges. In the first place, Curtis had not yet definitely made up his mind to resign from the bench by the spring of 1857. If the idea had been in his mind off and on since 1854, he was no more determined to make the break in March,

5. Benjamin N. Cardozo, "Law and Literature," quoted in M. E. Hall, *Selected Writings of Benjamin Nathan Cardozo* (New York, 1947), p. 354; Ben W. Palmer, *Marshall and Taney* (Minneapolis, 1939), p. 202.

6. See the author's "Benjamin R. Curtis: Judicial Misfit," *New England Quarterly*, XXV (December 1952), 507-23.

7. F. H. Hodder, "Some Phases of the Dred Scott Case," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XVI (June 1929), 3-22; Otto Gresham, *The Dred Scott Case* (Chicago 1908).

8. W. E. Woodward, *Years of Madness* (New York, 1951), p. 49.

1857, than he had been earlier. As he left his brethren at the close of the term in which *Dred Scott* was decided, he gave no indication he did not intend to return, and it was not until later in the summer that he actually decided to resign. Thus to impute to him a conscious decision to plan an auspicious return to the bar through the *Dred Scott* Case is, to say the least, to make such an imputation prematurely. More important, Curtis would not have had to use such a measure in any case. His reputation as a lawyer in Massachusetts was already great, and it is doubtful if a few pro-Fugitive Slave Law rulings on circuit were enough to dissuade the hard-headed businessmen in Boston who had been his clients before his appointment from using his services again. As a matter of fact, the merchants of Boston never embraced abolitionism as a whole, and it is futile to argue that Curtis needed to woo them back by an anti-slavery opinion from a position to which most of them had never advanced. Very probably his position on slavery would not have affected Curtis' legal business one iota. Finally, it was plainly out of character for Curtis to do such a thing. Not one of Curtis' acquaintances but attested to his complete integrity and fidelity to high principles of personal conduct. His friend Chandler Robbins never knew him to descend to "any small devices," and Sidney Bartlett, the distinguished Boston lawyer, was persuaded that, so great was Curtis' self-discipline, he never suffered himself "to be led astray by false or exaggerated sentiment" or to operate under fraudulent pretences.⁹

Although it is of course impossible to reconstruct now the thoughts that went into Curtis' decision to dissent as he did in *Dred Scott*, it is probable that his action was in the nature of a conditioned response, in harmony with stands he had previously taken on almost all of the issues at stake in the case. As early as 1843, he had indicated his attitude toward the citizenship of Negroes when he signed a petition to the House of Representatives condemning the treatment of free Negro sailors in Southern ports. As a member of the Court, he had consistently held that, while the Court might walk on the boundary line of its power, it must not step over it. The majority position seemed to him to be not a step but a leap over that line, and he resolved to point it out.

9. Chandler Robbins, "Memoir of the Hon. Robbins Curtis," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, (January 1878), 27; Sidney Bartlett, quoted in *The Forum*, III (April 1875), XVI, 289.

Moreover, Curtis was expert in the technicalities of pleading, several points of which were important in the Dred Scott Case, and he was not willing that they be violated freely by the majority. Finally, and perhaps most important, Curtis was a disciple of Daniel Webster, and to him as to his mentor, the question of Congressional power was no obstacle. The nationalism he had learned from Webster, Curtis did not intend to leave unvindicated. The action of the majority, at least as evidenced in Taney's opinion, affronted Curtis' convictions on all these matters, and the views he held of his judicial duty impelled him to speak out.

But he did not do so without realizing the seriousness of the step he was taking. The very length of his dissent and his assurance as he closed that he had dealt only with questions absolutely necessary to a full consideration of the case give evidence of his concern. And no sooner had he concluded than he began to worry about the implications of his dissent for his future relations with his colleagues. The evening of the very day he delivered his opinion Curtis talked the whole matter over with his friend, Senator George Badger of North Carolina. Perhaps he even considered immediate resignation. Badger, at any event, dashed a note off to Curtis the next morning (March 8) praying that he

come to no hasty decision upon the matter of which you spoke last night—Sometimes happy solutions have been made in past days by chance or even against an ill design and therefore let us hope such things may occur again—In all probability opportunity must occur at no distant day—and I beg that no conclusion be arrived at until, at least, I have the pleasure to see you again which if we both live will be next December [sic]—This is all of course *sub rosa*, and I allude to it in this note because I feel a sincere interest on the subject affecting as in my opinion it does, the good of the country. I desire my parting regards to Mrs. Curtis, and hope you may long live to grace the bench on which you now have a seat.¹⁰

Whether it was Badger's urgency, or merely that he had not yet reached the breaking point, Curtis gave no outward sign of any impending change as he took leave of the Court upon adjournment the next day. Later Justice Campbell wrote that he was sure there was then neither any personal "hostility or unkindness felt or expressed to Justice Curtis by those who did not concur with

¹⁰o. George E. Badger to Benjamin R. Curtis, March 8, 1857, Benjamin R. Curtis Papers, I, (Library of Congress).

him" in the case, nor an immediate alteration of the cordiality that had continuously marked Curtis' relations with his fellow judges.¹¹ No sooner had Curtis started for Virginia on a short vacation before heading North to Maine to preside over the regular April term of the Circuit Court there, however, than such an alteration began. In part it was induced by the public reception of the divergent positions of the justices. Taney's opinion was seized upon by the Democrats and held aloft as their battle flag, while the *Tribune* cried:

Alas! that the character of the Supreme Court of the United States as an impartial judicial body has gone! It has abdicated its just functions and descended into the political arena. It has sullied its ermine; it has draggled and polluted its garments in the filth of pro-slavery politics.¹²

And Theodore Parker, not deigning to speak of the decision itself, declared the Supreme Court to be "only the dirty mouth of the Slave Power,—its chief function to belch forth iniquity, and name it law."¹³

Just as the majority position was widely condemned in the North, so were the dissenters honored and lionized. They were enfolded in Republican arms and their views adapted to partisan parlance. Both McLean's and Curtis' opinions were at once widely reprinted and publicized, the Tribune Association of New York going so far as to bind Taney's and Curtis' together, with abstracts of the others, and to publish the whole in pamphlet form. What might have been only a difference of judicial viewpoint on a case before the Court was thus within two months time transformed into a gulf of dangerous proportions between two opposing parties. Without design, Curtis found himself being driven apart from his colleagues on the bench.

Not only were the legal differences emphasized, but everywhere in the North Curtis found himself the recipient of personal praise, while all his colleagues save McLean received only censure. John Appleton, a long-time friend of Curtis' and now a justice of the Supreme Court of Maine, exclaimed:

I have just read with great interest your opinion in the Dred

11. 20 Wallace xi (1874).

12. Quoted in James S. Pike, *First Blows of the Civil War* (New York, 1879), p. 367.

13. Theodore Parker, *The Present Aspect of Slavery in America* (Boston, 1858), p. 14.

Scott case and I cannot refrain from congratulating you on its vigor and ability. I think you have exhausted the subject and with unanswerable logic and copious mass of learning have demonstrated to every legal mind the truth of your conclusions. The opinion is worthy of Marshall and would have added lustre to his reputation. It is given to few men to have such an opportunity and to still fewer to know how to take advantage of that opportunity.¹⁴

Horace Binney declared that "Nobody who reasons upon legal principles can want anything after Judge Curtis' opinion. . . ."¹⁵ Abraham Lincoln, just then rising on the political horizon, demonstrated his wholehearted approval of the dissent,¹⁶ and *The Law Reporter* could not bring its discussion of the case "to a close without saying a word of the opinions of the two dissenting judges, which are certainly entitled to at least as much weight . . . as any of the opinions of the majority. . . . The opinion of Mr. Justice Curtis," it found, was "by the common consent of the profession and of the public, the strongest and clearest, as well as the most thorough and elaborate of all the opinions delivered in this case. . . ."¹⁷

Subjected constantly to such a barrage from mid-March on, Curtis became convinced of his own rectitude in the questions at issue, and even more convinced of the error of his brethren's beliefs. And no wonder, for he heard little else, and nothing on the other side. By July 3, he confided to his uncle, George Ticknor, that he no longer felt "that confidence in the court, and that willingness to cooperate with them, which are essential to the satisfactory discharge of my duties as a member of that body."¹⁸ If Curtis himself had not cut the bonds that held him to the Court, they had been effectively cut for him. The anti-slavery sentiment of the Northern press and personal adulation had been as destructive as any scissors could have been to that fragile tie.

Perhaps even these forces would not have been enough to

14. John Appleton to Benjamin R. Curtis, March 15, 1857, Benjamin R. Curtis Papers, I, (Library of Congress).

15. Horace Binney to Dr. Francis Lieber, February 18, 1860, Charles C. Binney, *The Life of Horace Binney* (Philadelphia and London, 1903), p. 298.

16. Speech at Springfield, Illinois, June 26, 1857.

17. *The Law Reporter*, XX (June 1857), 115.

18. Benjamin R. Curtis to George Ticknor, July 3, 1857, Benjamin R. Curtis, ed., *A Memoir of Benjamin Robbins Curtis, LL.D., with Some of His Professional and Miscellaneous Writings* (Boston, 1879), I, 247.

drive Curtis to resignation, had a rupture between the Chief Justice and Curtis not also occurred as an aftermath of the Dred Scott Case. As was customary with him, Curtis had read his dissent in its finished form and, immediately after the session was over on March 7, had filed it, according to the rules of the Court, in the Clerk's office to be printed and officially reported, an action he assumed all his colleagues would likewise take. Acting on that assumption, when he was approached that same day by a representative of a newspaper in Boston for a copy of his dissent, he complied with the request, supposing that the other opinions would similarly be shortly available to the press. Almost at once thereafter, he left on his trip to Virginia, without informing anyone of what he had done. Within a few days, his dissent was being widely published in the North. Taney, however, had not at once filed his opinion as Curtis had expected, nor had copies of it been given to the press. When in early April Curtis reached Pittsfield, his summer home in the mountains, he heard indirectly that the Chief Justice had withheld his opinion in order to revise and alter it before publication, adding a refutation of Curtis' arguments. Curious to see the result, Curtis dropped a note to William T. Carroll, Clerk of the Court, asking him to send a copy of Taney's revised opinion whenever it should be ready.

Within a week, he received a brief answer from Carroll, informing him that the opinions had not yet been printed, but that, even when they should be, Taney had directed the Clerk "not to furnish a copy of his opinion to anyone without his [Taney's] permission,"¹⁹ before it was officially published in Howard's Reports. His curiosity aroused, Curtis wrote again to Carroll on April 9, saying that he wished only to see "this opinion of the Court" and asking Carroll to send him "a copy of that as soon as it is in print. . . ." He then continued:

You mention that the Ch. Jus. had directed you not to furnish a copy of his opinion to any one, without his permission before it is published in Howard's Rep. If, by his opinion you mean, the opinion delivered by the Chief Justice as the opinion of the majority of the court, I can hardly suppose the

19. William T. Carroll to Benjamin R. Curtis, April 6, 1857, Benjamin R. Curtis Papers, I, Library of Congress. All the ensuing correspondence between Carroll and Curtis and between Curtis and Taney, is preserved in the Curtis Papers in the Library of Congress and is partially reproduced in Curtis, *Memoir*, I, 212-29, and will not be cited again.

direction was intended to apply to and include a member of the court who has occasion to examine the opinion before its publication. If you have the least doubt upon the point it is certainly proper for you to consult him before you send me the copy.

Carroll replied on the fourteenth, again refusing to send the opinion because Taney had specifically forbidden him to do so. Now Curtis became more than curious; he became quite angry and on the eighteenth, he wrote a note to Taney himself, saying curtly,

I can not suppose it was your intention to preclude me from having access to an opinion of the court in the only way possible for me to obtain it—and if it was not, you will confer a favor upon me by directing the clerk to comply with my request.

Taney answered him on April 28. Throughout his lengthy letter, his irritation was obvious. Not only did Taney realize by then that the majority opinion had not accomplished what it had been intended to do—settle the slavery controversy permanently—but it provoked him to see what a whipping post his opinion and his Court had become at the hands of Northern editors. For the fact that the official text of his opinion had not yet been released had not prevented the press from discussing it in detail. What had not recorded when Taney had presented it in Court had been pieced together from Curtis' elaborate discussion of Taney's points in his dissent, so that despite the fact Taney had held it back, the general tenor of his opinion and many of its specific points as well were very much before the people. He could hardly blame the newsmen of the day for their coverage of the case, but as one authority points out, "he was probably right in assuming that the early and widespread publication of Curtis' dissenting opinion had played a prominent part in the forming of public sentiment in the case."²⁰ Moreover, it appeared to him that Curtis had desired to have his dissent used for partisan purposes and had therefore taken steps to assure its publication before the majority opinion should be released, an action Taney felt should be strongly condemned. The receipt of Curtis' note seemed to provide the Chief Justice with the proper occasion to do just that, and he evidently decided to mince no words.

He had been disgusted, Taney wrote, by the garbling and

²⁰ Carl B. Swisher, *Roger B. Taney* (New York, 1936), p. 514.

gross misrepresentation of the majority opinion as reported in the press, and he had resolved to do something to prevent its further mutilation until such time as the officially corrected opinion was made available to the public. On April 6 he had asked the only two justices then in Washington²¹ to approve an order to Carroll prohibiting anyone from having access to the opinions in the case until they were formally published in full in the Reports, and they having concurred, the order had been issued. He had supposed that would put an end to the matter. However, shortly thereafter an application for a copy of the majority opinion came from Charles P. Curtis, Justice Curtis' cousin and former law partner. Mr. Curtis wrote that he desired to publish a large edition of his kinsman's dissent in pamphlet form and wished "to introduce that of the Chief Justice" along with it. He had refused the application, Taney said, for many reasons. He feared it would be used for "political and partizan purposes," and that it would be disrespectful to Curtis' fellow justices to omit their opinions from such a publication. Nor did he feel it was proper either that the official Court reporter should be deprived by such a project of the profits arising from the legitimate sale of the opinions, or that "any gentleman" should undertake "to report the opinion of the Court under his own supervision, and in what manner and in what form he pleased," without asking permission of the Court to do so.

Now what was he to think when almost immediately afterwards Justice Curtis wrote for a copy, Taney asked. Why, obviously, that it must be for his cousin's use, which Taney could not allow. If Curtis had wanted it to aid him in the discharge of his official duties, the Chief Justice declared, he might have had it. His letter continued:

But I understand you as not desiring or intending to use it for that purpose. On the contrary you announced from the bench that you regarded the opinion as extra judicial and not binding upon you or any one else. And if the opinion of the court is desired by the Judge not to aid him in the discharge of his official duties, but for some other unexplained purpose, I do not see that his position in relation to a copy of the opinion, differs in any respect from that of any other person. And I cannot admit that any one Judge has the right to take away from the court the control over its own opinion before

²¹. Justices Daniel and Wayne.

it is officially reported—or has the right to overrule its judgment, if he thinks proper, in a matter which nearly concerns its judicial character and standing—and more especially the judicial character and standing of the members of the Court who gave the opinion.

Curtis did not see Taney's reply until he returned from the circuit on the thirteenth of May. When he had read it and saw that Taney believed not only that the early release of his dissent was responsible for the treatment the majority opinion had received in the Northern press but that he was behind the activities of Charles P. Curtis as well, he was both surprised and indignant, and he sat down at once to reply to Taney. He evidently resolved not to write in haste, for the copy of the letter he retained among his papers shows that he wrote, rewrote, crossed out and reworded until he achieved a result that satisfied him. First of all, Curtis remarked, he had always supposed when "a judge called on the clerk of the court, to furnish him with a copy of one of its acts . . . and stated that he had occasion to examine it before its publication, neither the clerk, or any [one] else, had a right to presume that he had not occasion to examine it for a purpose connected with his official duty, and to deny him access to it." He had not thought he need make an explanation of his request, and indeed,

if any one supposed, that I was availing myself of my official relations to the records of the Court to enable Mr. C. P. Curtis to obtain, indirectly, through me, what he could not obtain directly for himself, such person has done an injustice to me which I believe a more intimate acquaintance with my character would have saved him from. . . . I had an official duty to perform which alone caused me to apply for the copy. In my judgment, and I cannot doubt you will agree with me, a judge who dissents from an opinion of the majority of the court upon questions of constitutional law which deeply affect the country, discharges an official duty when he lays before the country the grounds and reasons of his dissent. That he may do so, it is necessary he should know, and know accurately, what the opinion of the majority is, and its grounds and reasons.

He had shaped his dissent, Curtis went on, from the majority opinion as Taney had read it in Court, and having heard that it had later been changed, he naturally wished to see the revision. "I thought I had a right to know, before my own opinion should

be published . . . in a permanent form, whether any alterations material to my dissent had been made . . .," for should Taney's opinion, as published, differ significantly from the original, the very basis of his dissent might have been made inapplicable. It was surely, therefore, in line of official duty to see to it that his dissent still met the points of the majority opinion accurately before it should be finally committed to the record.

Moreover, Curtis informed Taney, he did not think the order the Chief Justice had issued to Carroll was a valid one, since it had been made without the deliberation and consent of the whole court. He was not convinced of the "propriety and expediency of . . . withholding from immediate publication the opinions in this case;" he believed "their publication would [have] prevented, in the only way which they could be prevented, those great misunderstandings and gross misrepresentations in the newspapers." In any case, and Curtis thought the full Court would have agreed with him, it was a mistake to try

to keep from the public what passes in an open court of justice; especially in the Supreme Court, where the interests of the nation are controverted, and the people have the right to know what is done, and feel a strong desire to know it . . . in such a case the usual forms of reporting would inevitably be disregarded . . . if the public can not get the opinions of the court authentically, and in the usual way, speedily enough to answer their claims, they will get them so far as, and in best way, they can . . . all concerned would suffer by attempting to withhold the opinions in this case, after they had been regularly promulgated in open court.

Curtis closed with an assurance that he was not attempting to argue with Taney, but only to state his views of the affair. "I have no personal feeling to express other than regret that what I consider my rightful access to the records of the court have been denied me, and, as I fear, under misconstruction of my motive and purposes." He signed himself as usual, "with great respect, etc.," and as he posted the letter he no doubt hoped the matter would shortly be brought to a peaceful conclusion.

Curtis had, however, been less than frank with Taney in completely avoiding the one topic most annoying to his Chief, the fact that his dissent had been published early and had been used for partisan purposes. To be sure, it had been without Curtis' direct

involvement, but hardly, it seems, without his tacit approval. There exists among the Curtis Papers in the Library of Congress a note in Curtis' hand saying that C. P. Curtis had written him asking how a copy of the majority opinion might be obtained and that he had merely replied that he did not know how to obtain a copy for him. He did not go on to voice his disapproval of his kinsman's plan, a project the outcome of which he must have realized. "In respect to the propriety of Mr. Curtis' intentions," Curtis recalled later,

I [did] not feel called on to enter into any discussion, further than to observe, that, as he proposed to distribute the pamphlet gratuitously, he could have no intention to take for his own use the emoluments arising from its sale; and that it did not occur to me, when the subject was spoken of by him . . . that such a publication would be disrespectful to those judges whose opinions would not be included.²²

He had heard, Curtis noted, that Justice Daniel and the Chief Justice himself had had their dissents in the famous Wheeling Bridge Case published separately, without the opinion of the court, and that they had been "extensively circulated in Virginia and west of the mountains. . . ." He had no doubt that "this was done to promote the views of those in whose favor those opinions were," and he did not feel that the project C. P. Curtis had in mind was any different.²³ Thus Curtis was not entirely blameless for the use to which his dissent had been put, for by his silence, he seemed to sanction it. If C. P. Curtis' particular plan had not materialized, others with the same intent had, and it can hardly be presumed that Curtis' attitude toward them would have been different. His insistence in his letter to Taney on the technically correct point that C. P. Curtis' request for a copy of the opinion, and his own, were not in any way related, was not the whole story.

Nor was Taney willing to accept Curtis' explanation. Replying on June 11, he first registered a vigorous denial to Curtis' assertion that he had withheld his opinion in order to alter it before he handed it to Howard for publication. "There is not one historical fact, nor one principle of Constitutional law—or common law—or chancery law—or statute law in the printed opinion, which

22. The note is reproduced in Curtis, *Memoir*, I, 218, note.

23. *Ibid.*

was not distinctly announced and maintained from the Bench," he declared. "Nor is there any one historical fact or principle or point of law which was affirmed in the opinion from the Bench, omitted or modified or in any degree altered in the printed opinion." He had, Taney admitted, added "proofs and authorities," but he had not made any material alterations. Taney then turned to the matter that bothered him the most: Curtis' assertion that "the opinion of the court [had] been improperly kept back from the public when they had a right to know it," and the necessary implication that by releasing his dissent Curtis had served the public. Taney wrote:

It is true that the [majority] opinion was not given to a partisan political journal, to be published for political and partisan purposes. [Instead, it had been] delivered in open court, in the hearing of any one who chose to listen. It was placed in the hands of the officer appointed by law to report it, as soon as it had undergone the usual revision. . . . [to be] published in the manner in which the opinions of the court have been published for more than fifty years: and much sooner after the close of the Term than they have commonly been issued by the Reporter. Yet I have never heretofore heard the court charged with improperly keeping back its opinion from the people.

Even though he agreed that the Dred Scott Case was of great importance and interest, one over which the public mind was much excited, Taney saw no reason why that circumstance removed it from the established channels of procedure. If Curtis had thought it proper to make an exception in this instance and resort to the unusual expedient of publishing "the opinion in the public journals immediately after it was delivered," Taney thought it regrettable "that [he] did not suggest such a measure to the Court," where it undoubtedly would have been listened to and considered with great respect. But Curtis had neither said anything "about the publication of the opinions; nor intimated that a more prompt and different mode . . . than the usual one was desirable." Nor did he apprise Taney of his intention to publish his own dissenting opinion. Thus it was with great surprise that Taney learned of its publication "in a political journal" and almost at once the unfortunate results of that action became apparent.

. . . tens of thousands of persons who read your [Curtis'] opinion in the journal in which it was published and in other

newspapers associated with it in political partizanship, could by no possibility have the opinion of the court before them, until some time after yours had been read and made its impression. And the far greater part of the readers among whom it was hurried, and profusely scattered will never have an opportunity of reading the opinion of the court; nor of knowing any thing about it, except what they learn from your version of the opinion, and your account of the proofs and authorities on which it is founded.

The measures taken by Curtis had been largely responsible for the widespread misunderstanding of the majority opinion, Taney charged, and, he added, ". . . this is the first instance in the history of the Supreme Court in which the assault [by the partisan press] was commenced by the publication of the opinion of a dissenting Judge; carrying with it the weight and influence of a judicial opinion delivered from the Bench in the presence and hearing of the court." Already the air was filled with the prejudice and passion of political partisanship, and in such an atmosphere, no one could fail to see that the presentation of only one side of the Court's position in the Dred Scott Case would be a great help to one party or the other. The proper solution to such an explosive problem, Taney was sure, would have been to have issued all the opinions at once. "But the measures taken by you effectually prevented the publication of the opinions together and simultaneously," and the result of Curtis' actions had been disastrous. To prevent any recurrence of them, as well as to keep other members of the Court from assuming the unseemly attitude of political combatants, Taney had given the order to the clerk, forbidding any further release of individual opinions until all should be ready for publication.

Nor need Curtis complain about the violation of his judicial rights because he was not consulted before the order was given, Taney continued. "You will recollect that you had then published your own opinion, adverse to that of the Court, without consulting the Judges who gave the opinion, or apprising them of your intention. I cannot see any just ground upon which you could claim the right to share in the control and disposition of the opinion of the Court, when the avowed object of your dissenting opinion, was to impair its authority and discredit it as a judicial decision."

I have now done. I had indeed supposed that whatever difference existed on the Bench, all discussion and controversy

between members of the tribunal was at an end when the opinions had been delivered: and I believed that this case like all others that had preceded it, would be submitted calmly to the sober and enlightened judgment of the public, in the usual channels of information; and in the manner in which it has heretofore been thought that judicial decorum and propriety required. But if it is your pleasure to address letters to me, charging me with breaches of official duty, justice to myself as well as to those members of the court with whom I acted makes it necessary for me to answer, and show the charge to be groundless. And a plain and direct statement of the facts appears to be all that is necessary for that purpose. And having now made it, I have only to add that

I am, respectfully, your obedient servant,
R. B. Taney

No doubt Taney, like Curtis, expected the subject now to be closed.

This time, however, Curtis chose to keep the correspondence alive. On June 16, he wrote to Taney, denying that any unpleasantness between them was chargeable to him and explaining carefully that he had not accused Taney of a breach of official duty and that he did not claim the right to do so. He said he had merely expressed the opinion that Taney's order was "highly inexpedient;" surely, "there is a wide distance between a difference of opinion on a question like this, and a charge of official misconduct."

I must be allowed to entertain my own opinions on all points connected with my office, and to express plainly . . . my reasons for them; but I claim no privilege to charge any one of my brethren with official misconduct, nor have I done so . . . If I was otherwise understood I regret that I did not express my ideas more clearly.

Perhaps Curtis protested too much, for he had in fact made what amounted to that charge in his May 13 letter.

In any case, it did not seem so important to Curtis that Taney regarded his complaint as a charge of official misconduct as it did that a large part of Taney's letter seemed "designed to show that I published my opinion for political and partizan purposes, and that I could not have failed to see that it must be read by great numbers of persons who would never read the opinion of the court, and thus have an unfair effect." Curtis decided not to reply at length to that part of Taney's letter, he wrote, for two reasons.

The first is that to carry on such a discussion without bitterness would seem to be almost, if not quite impossible and therefore I do not think it would be profitable either to you or myself. The second is that I do not deem a detailed reply to those parts of your letter, necessary. It is a sufficient reply for me to declare that I have no connection whatever with any political party, and no purpose whatever, save a determination to avoid misconstruction and misapprehension, from which I have suffered enough in times past. . . .

I had not the least doubt when I consented to the publication of my own opinion that the opinion of the court would be at once published in a similar way, and would appear as early as my own in the principal newspapers of the country; as it undoubtedly would have been, if its publication had not been prevented by a special order. But the fact that its publication, without my knowledge was restrained, or that it was not ready for publication when delivered, if such was the fact, does not authorize any one to impute to me intentional unfairness, or any willingness to do the least injustice to the reputation of others.

As with Taney, the note of cordiality was missing from his signature,

Being conscious of the truth of these facts I deem them a sufficient reply . . . and have only to add that I remain,

Respectfully, your obedient servant,
B. R. Curtis

Taney closed the exchange with a brief note dated June 20, coldly stating that he was "not aware of any thing in either of my letters that is not strictly defensive in its character," thus feeling to the last that he had received as much injury at Curtis' hands as Curtis felt he had received at Taney's. Although in retrospect the quarrel between Taney and Curtis seems understandable from both sides, it is clear that it accomplished no good and did much harm. Curtis did not crack Taney's resolution to deny him what he sought, nor did he succeed in convincing Taney that he was free from responsibility for the treatment of the majority opinion by the Northern press. Taney, for his part, had done little to make Curtis happier in his position as a member of the Court. Despite his sharp denial, Taney had not satisfied Curtis that his original opinion had not been altered, and that that was the reason behind Taney's reluctance to let Curtis see it until it was published. Later Curtis jotted down some notes to attach to the whole correspondence, to keep as a permanent record of the affair.

These notes are preserved as a part of the Curtis Papers. In them he remarks that he trusted his memory completely. "I heard the opinion read twice—once in conference and once from the bench—I listened to it with attention and believe that I know where and in what it was changed. These additions amount to upwards of *eighteen pages*. No one can read them without perceiving that they are *in reply* to my opinion."²⁴ Believing this, Curtis felt that Taney had not been honest with him, just as Taney believed that Curtis had likewise kept something back. Doubt and mistrust were introduced for the first time into their minds, and neither had any reason to doubt the validity of his own conclusions.

Already restless in his position on the Court, *Dred Scott* and its aftermath led Curtis almost at once to the conclusion that he could no longer remain there. A bare two months elapsed between his receipt of Taney's last letter and his resignation. As he pondered his future during those two months, he became convinced that little common ground remained between him and his brethren, should he return to Washington the next December. The majority of his colleagues seemed to him to be heading in a constitutional direction 180 degrees removed from his own, and the loss of confidence he felt in them was accentuated by his conflict with Taney. While it is probable that personal inconvenience and financial stress might have led Curtis eventually to resign, there can be no doubt that the events of the spring and summer of 1857 persuaded him to depart just when he did. Indeed, he had resolved to resign by the last of June and had so informed his fellow dissenter, Justice McLean. McLean replied in haste on July 12, 1857, entreating Curtis to reconsider and to postpone his action for at least another term, by which time he felt the situation might have improved.²⁵ Curtis evidently listened to the plea and agreed to hold off a while longer, but on September 1, he wrote a very brief formal resignation to President Buchanan. "My private duties are inconsistent with a longer continuance in the public service," he wrote, and offered no other reason for his decision.²⁶ But if, when it finally came down to resignation, Cur-

24. Benjamin R. Curtis Papers. I, Library of Congress.

25. John McLean to Benjamin R. Curtis, July 12, 1857, Curtis, *Memor*, I, 258.

26. Benjamin R. Curtis to James Buchanan, September 1, 1857, *ibid.*, p. 249.

tis did not want it to appear that his departure from the bench was motivated by personal antagonism growing out of *Dred Scott* and the events immediately following it, the evidence is quite clear that they were the prime factors in his decision. To discuss his resignation in any other terms is to miss the most important part of the story.

Curtis made his position perfectly clear to ex-President Millard Fillmore, who had appointed him in 1851, when he wrote to apprise him of his action. Aside from the bleak financial future which continuance on the bench seemed to offer him, he did not think, Curtis declared, that "in the present state of the court, or in any state of it which can reasonably be anticipated in my time, my continuance on that bench ought to be deemed of such public importance as to weigh much in favor of my continuing there. You will readily understand that this a subject on which I cannot go into details, and cannot without indelicacy even offer reasons in support of the opinion I have expressed; but I can say that it is an honest opinion, founded deliberately upon a careful scrutiny of the subject."²⁷ And evidently President Buchanan understood the real reason for Curtis' resignation, if we can judge from the way his resignation was handled. He did not even deign to contact Curtis personally, upon receipt of his letter. Instead, he directed Jeremiah Black, his Attorney General, to respond for him. When Black wrote the usual laudatory and cordial letter of acceptance and submitted it to Buchanan for his approval, the President replied,

My dear Sir

I return your letter of the late Judge Curtis. I do not think it ought to contain what I have striken out. I know I entertain no such opinion of him as is therein expressed: and your communication to me of what had passed between him and the Chief Justice does not serve to enhance him in my estimation.

Yr. friend

Very respectfully,

James Buchanan²⁸

Obviously Buchanan saw behind the reason Curtis offered in his letter of resignation. In any case, the letter that finally went out

27. Benjamin R. Curtis to Millard Fillmore, September 1, 1857, *ibid.*, p. 250.

28. James Buchanan to Jeremiah S. Black, September 15, 1857, Jeremiah S. Black Papers, XII, Library of Congress.

to the retiring justice, over Black's signature, was stripped of its warmth altogether and expressed only gratitude that Curtis had been so kind as to delay his departure until such time "when no suitor will be inconvenienced."²⁹

And so Curtis recommenced his law practice in the fall of 1857, and except for a brief return to the public eye during Andrew Johnson's impeachment trial, was lost from the pages of history. While many agreed with Fillmore that "no man [had] in so short a time gained a more enviable judicial reputation,"³⁰ and with the Boston *Courier* that "he leaves the bench with a degree of respect, consideration, and honor, which he may proudly hold, and proudly transmit to his children,"³¹ others were not so kind. "How could so wise a man as our friend B. R. Curtis do so deplorable a thing as to resign . . . at this untimely moment. I may overestimate the importance of his course, and I certainly esteem and respect him, but I have never known a resignation which has so much the air of desertion," Robert C. Winthrop asserted,³² and the Atlanta *Daily Examiner* attributed Curtis' action to his "troubled conscience."³³ Years later, Otto Gresham, speaking before the Chicago Law Club, summed up the extreme viewpoint.

The situation suggests the thought that the resignation was an act of revolution. What is the function of a dissenting judge after he has delivered his dissenting opinion? Hardly a resignation, unless it would be to withdraw his allegiance to his government.³⁴

Such sentiments as these have persisted through the years and have succeeded in permanently clouding Curtis' name and record. *Dred Scott* was not only a disruptive political force, it brought personal disruption to one of its major figures. Even after one hundred years, Benjamin R. Curtis and *Dred Scott* are linked together as tightly as the two sides of a single coin.

29. Jeremiah S. Black to Benjamin R. Curtis, September 14, 1857, Curtis, *Memoir*, I, 250.

30. Millard Fillmore to Benjamin R. Curtis, September 4, 1857, Benjamin R. Curtis Papers, I, Library of Congress.

31. Quoted in The Pittsfield *Sun*, September 10, 1857.

32. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., *A Memoir of Robert C. Winthrop* (Boston, 1897), p. 198.

33. Atlanta *Daily Examiner*, September 11, 1857.

34. Otto Gresham, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

JOHN ADAMS, ELBRIDGE GERRY, AND THE ORIGINS OF THE XYZ AFFAIR

By EUGENE F. KRAMER

THE ABORTIVE ATTEMPT of the John Adams Administration in 1797-1798 to resolve by diplomatic negotiation the crisis in Franco-American relations caused by French opposition to Jay's Treaty is called the XYZ Affair. This dramatic name is derived from the report sent to Congress by Secretary of State Timothy Pickering in which he substituted the letters X, Y, and Z for the names of unofficial French agents who had attempted to exact a bribe from the American ministers, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, John Marshall, and Elbridge Gerry, as the price of opening negotiations.¹ Two of the ministers won fame for their part in the affair. Pinckney is reputed to have rebuffed the bribe demand with, "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute." President John Adams appointed Marshall Secretary of State and, later, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Elbridge Gerry did not fare so well. His decision to continue unofficial talks after his fellow ministers had given up hope for a peaceful settlement and returned to the United States was severely criticized and strongly condemned.² The censure was exceptionally severe because several Federalist leaders, including the entire Cabinet, had warned the President that Gerry's long record of intractability made him a poor choice for the mission. John Adams, however, insisted on employing his old friend and overrode the wishes of Cabinet and party about placing him on the mission. Recent revelations from the papers of Adams and Gerry shed new light on the reasons for the President's partiality for Gerry, and on the roles played by the two men in the origins of the XYZ Affair.

John Adams' partiality for Gerry in 1797 was based on a close public and private relationship that had started in 1774 in the Massachusetts Provincial Congress. This revolutionary substitute for the royal provincial government included John and Samuel Adams, John Hancock, Robert Treat Paine, Elbridge Gerry and

1. See Pickering's report, Jan. 21, 1799, *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, II, 231-238.

2. S. E. Morrison, "Elbridge Gerry, Gentleman-Democrat," in *By Land and by Sea* (New York, 1953), p. 195.

many others instrumental in starting the American Revolution.³ After the Battle of Lexington John and Samuel Adams, leaders of the radical element, were in a minority on the five-member delegation that Massachusetts sent to the Second Continental Congress and therefore unable to control the state's single vote. Their problem was resolved by having Elbridge Gerry, a loyal and trusted supporter, replace one of the conservative delegates. John Adams wrote of this change:

Mr. Gerry . . . went with me to Philadelphia and we took our seats in Congress on Friday, February 9, 1776. In this gentleman I found a faithful friend, and an ardent, persevering lover of his country, who never hesitated to promote with his abilities and industry, the boldest measures reconcilable with prudence. Mr. Samuel Adams, Mr. Gerry and myself now composed a majority of the delegation, and we were no longer vexed or enfeebled by divisions among ourselves, or by indecision or indolence.⁴

Although Gerry specialized in economic affairs while in the Continental Congress, he kept in touch with John Adams on key subjects.⁵ While George Washington was suffering through Valley Forge in the winter of 1777-1778, they exchanged views on the military situation.⁶ In 1779, Gerry was influential in the Congressional debates on proposed terms of peace with England and in having John Adams appointed minister to negotiate the treaty.⁷ A typical indication of Adams' warm regard for Gerry was shown in a letter dated December 6, 1777: "You have the happiest, nimblest spirit for climbing over difficulties, and for dispersing mists and for seeing fair weather, when it is foggy or rainy, of any man I know. . . ."⁸

Elbridge Gerry's activities at the Federal Constitutional Con-

3. For Gerry's close work with the Adamses see *Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts in 1774 and 1775* (Boston, 1838). Gerry had been elected to the Massachusetts General Court in 1772 and almost immediately fell under Samuel Adams's magical spell. See *Samuel Adams Papers, 1772-1774*, New York Public Library.

4. Quoted in E. C. Burnett, *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* (8 vols., Washington, 1923-32), I, 114.

5. J. B. Sanders, *Evolution of Executive Departments of the Continental Congress* (Chapel Hill, 1935), Chaps. IV-VIII.

6. Adams to Gerry, Nov. 10, 1777 and Gerry's reply dated Dec. 3, 1777, Gerry Papers, Library of Congress.

7. C. F. Adams, editor, *The Works of John Adams* (10 vols., Boston, 1850-1856), IX, 491-496; James Austin, *The Life of Elbridge Gerry* (2 vols., Boston, 1828-1829), I, 289-293.

8. C. F. Adams, editor, *The Works of John Adams*, IX, 469.

vention and at the Massachusetts ratifying convention had a bearing on his part in the origins of the XYZ Affair. While a delegate to the former meeting, he followed a states-rights course. Several leading figures did this, but Gerry remained at the Convention until it had drafted the Constitution, and then presented a formal statement of why he would not sign it.⁹ This action impressed Alexander Hamilton who feared Gerry's influence in the forthcoming fight for ratification. Hamilton's belief was well founded, for Gerry's name appeared on an influential anti-Constitution pamphlet,¹⁰ and he sat in the Massachusetts ratifying convention as a hostile observer.¹¹ The state, the key one in the early ratification struggle, approved the Constitution by only 19 votes (187-168).¹² These activities left Gerry outside the circle of able conservative leaders who were influential in the Federalist Party and the national government at the time of the XYZ Affair.¹³

Although Gerry was *persona non grata* to the party that chose Adams as Vice President, such a situation did not alter their friendship. Gerry won a bitterly contested campaign for a seat in the new Congress, but the sharp personal attacks of his opponents, particularly on Gerry's anti-Constitution record, caused him to hesitate about accepting the place. Vice President-elect Adams urged Gerry not to decline,¹⁴ and was an important influence on his decision to go to Congress. There had been no change in the Congressman's views, however, and he hardly endeared himself to the Federalists by opposing nearly every key Administration measure.¹⁵ He left Congress in 1793 and returned to Cambridge to resume an extensive mercantile business.

9. Gaillard Hunt and James Scott, editors, *The Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787 . . . As Reported by James Madison* (New York, 1920), pp. 581-582.

10. P. L. Ford, editor, *Pamphlets on the Constitution of the United States Published during the Discussion by the People* (Brooklyn, 1888), pp. 1-24. Although attributed to Gerry, the pamphlet was largely written by Mercy Warren. See Charles Warren, "Elbridge Gerry, James Warren, Mercy Warren and the Ratification of the Constitution in Massachusetts," *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, LXIV (1932), 143-164.

11. Samuel Harding, *The Contest Over the Ratification of the Federal Constitution in Massachusetts* (New York, 1896), pp. 18-20.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

13. See Henry Cabot Lodge, *The Life and Letters of George Cabot* (Boston, 1878).

14. Adams to Gerry, Feb. 15, 1789, Gerry Papers, Library of Congress. (Hereafter abbreviated as LC).

15. See the *Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States* (24 vols., Washington, 1831-1843), I-II.

Events at a dinner party given by Secretary of Treasury Oliver Wolcott in 1795 for George Cabot, then Senator from Massachusetts, Rufus King, soon after appointed Minister to England, and John Adams revealed how highly the Vice President still thought of Gerry. When the table talk turned to the "good old days," Cabot, according to Adams, ". . . expressed such inveteracy against my old friend Gerry, that I could not help taking up his vindication . . . Gerry's merit is inferior to that of no man in Massachusetts. . . . He never was one of the Essex knot [Junto] and was never popular with that set. . . ."¹⁶

Nothing had happened to change this viewpoint when John Adams was elected President and began to prepare himself to deal with the crisis in Franco-American relations that had been brought about by French seizure of American ships in retaliation for Jay's Treaty. Before Adams was inaugurated, Secretary of State Timothy Pickering published on January 16, 1797, a sharply worded note in which he defended America's right to make Jay's Treaty with England and denounced French attempts to meddle in the internal affairs of the United States.¹⁷ Adams revealed his continued high regard for Gerry by asking his opinion of the note when it appeared in the newspapers. Gerry disapproved of Pickering's ideas and attitude because he feared that they committed the President-elect to a war policy. He also warned Adams about the loyalty of the Cabinet, and urged him to rely heavily on the counsel of Vice President-elect Thomas Jefferson. Gerry believed that Federalist John Adams and Republican Thomas Jefferson could work well together, and he suggested that Jefferson be promised the Presidency if he co-operated. Adams rejected his friend's warnings about the Cabinet's loyalty and Pickering's jingoistic attitude.¹⁸

Gerry's feelings about using Jefferson's services were shared by Alexander Hamilton, the brains behind the Cabinet, although for different reasons. Hamilton believed that the diplomatic attempt to deal with France known as the XYZ Mission ought to include a Northerner and a Southerner, one of them a distinguished Re-

16. Adams to his wife, Abigail, June 21, 1795, C. F. Adams, editor, *The Works of John Adams*, I, 479-480.

17. Text in *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, I, 512-519.

18. Gerry to Adams, Jan. 30, 1797, Gerry Papers, LC; Adams to Gerry, Feb. 3, 1797, C. F. Adams, editor, *The Works of John Adams*, VIII, 520.

publican, so the mission would have a bipartisan flavor. In the beginning, he favored Virginia's James Madison and Massachusetts' George Cabot, but Madison was unacceptable to the Cabinet without Cabot, who declined the position.¹⁹ The President then had a private talk with Jefferson and asked him to accept a place on the mission. Jefferson refused to go to Paris and gave as his reason the belief that the Vice President of the United States should not be a "mere envoy." Adams was apparently relieved at Jefferson's rejection of the offer which was made primarily because several influential Federalists favored it. A full report of the interview was sent to Gerry with a request that he keep the affair secret.²⁰

Gerry strongly believed that James Monroe ought to be returned as minister to France, but on this point he and Adams had a wide difference of opinion. After Monroe had been recalled in 1796 for refusing to support the negotiation of Jay's Treaty,²¹ he published a bitter criticism of the Washington Administration.²² This attack ruled out any possibility of Monroe's reappointment, but Gerry urged Adams to reverse his party and reinstate Monroe in order to appease France. "If humiliating the measure," wrote Gerry, "it is much less so than those which we shall be compelled to, should we engage in an unsuccessful war with France. . . . To withstand her and her allies would be as for an infant to withstand an elephant. . . ."²³

Adams's reply was sharp and to the point. "I am a little surprised at your sorrow that Monroe was recalled—His house was a battery playing incessantly under the Engineer T.[om] Paine upon the religion, the government [and] the policy of this Country—I would as soon appoint Tom Paine to be Ambassador to France.

19. Lodge, *The Life and Letters of George Cabot*, pp. 103-104.

20. Adams to Gerry, April 12, 1797, John Adams Papers, Microfilm Reel #117. (All references to John Adams Papers are from this microfilm).

21. Beverley Bond, *The Monroe Mission to France* (Baltimore, 1907), Chap. I.

22. James Munroe, *A View of the Conduct of the Chief Executive . . .* (Philadelphia, 1797).

23. April 25, 1797, Gerry Papers, LC. Gerry had discussed Monroe's recall with the former French Minister to the United States, Charles Adet, who believed that the move was the beginning of a program to fill all American diplomatic posts with anti-French ministers. See Gerry to Monroe, April 4, 1797, *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, LXIX (1895), 436-437.

. . . ”²⁴ Gerry attempted to press his point,²⁵ but Adams refused to consider Monroe for the XYZ Mission.²⁶

The discussion over returning Monroe to Paris as a means of avoiding war revealed a significant difference in the thinking of Gerry and Adams. Gerry wanted peace at almost any price. He believed that the United States should not challenge France because “. . . if unsuccessful our government would be overthrown and one would be formed on the French model and we should hereafter be mere French colonies. . . . ”²⁷ John Adams also wanted peace, but not at the price of abject submission. “Your brief of the formidable position of France is very true,” he wrote to Gerry, “as it appears at present: but intelligence of the surest kind which is not laid before the Public shews it to be all hollow. . . . I would engage in war with either [France or England] or both together rather than prostrate our honor or surrender our independence. . . . ”²⁸ This was a sound statement for a President to make: he wanted peace but was not afraid to fight. The difficulty in it was that Adams gave little indication of what he considered to be an honorable basis for settling Franco-American differences while Gerry had many concrete reasons for wanting a peaceful solution even if it had to be on French terms.

Although the two men differed in their views on the expediency of war, their attitude toward France was similar. Neither Franco-phile nor Anglophile considerations influenced their thinking. Gerry analyzed the nature and aims of French aid given during the American Revolution and concluded that they imposed no legal or moral obligations on the United States to assist France in her war with England.²⁹ Adams agreed with this viewpoint. He favored a neutral policy devoid of the French Revolutionary emotionalism which he believed was preventing a fair and reasonable settlement of the Franco-American crisis.³⁰ Gerry’s impartiality

24. May 3, 1797, John Adams Papers.

25. Gerry to Adams, May 28, 1797, Gerry Papers, LC.

26. Adams to Gerry, May 30, 1797, John Adams Papers.

27. Gerry to Adams, April 25, 1797, Gerry Papers, LC. See also my article “Some New Light on the XYZ Affair: Elbridge Gerry’s Reasons for Opposing War with France,” *New England Quarterly*, XXIX (Dec. 1956), 509-513.

28. Adams to Gerry, May 3, 1797, John Adams Papers.

29. Gerry to Adams, March 7, 1797, Gerry Papers, LC.

30. Adams to Gerry, Feb. 13, 1797, C. F. Adams, editor, *The Works of John Adams*, VIII, 522-528.

was an important influence on Adams's decision to place him on the XYZ Mission, for John Marshall's opposition to the French Revolution was well known,³¹ and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney could hardly be impartial after being unceremoniously rejected as Monroe's successor.³²

While this exchange of views was going on, Adams was considering his friend for public office. Such a development was bound to be difficult because Gerry had little political influence in Massachusetts. "A sense of duty," he wrote, "will lead me to give you all the support of an obscure country farmer. . . ."³³ In reply, Adams queried: "Who is to be governor? I should be at no loss if I were at Quincy and could vote, but perhaps could do nothing. I love to see 1765 and 1775 men in honor. . . ."³⁴ This reference to the patriots of 1765 and 1775 was a good indication of how Adams was thinking. He saw fomenters of the Revolution replaced by a "new generation" of leaders, many of whom, although they had participated in the Revolution, had done little in getting it started.³⁵ Gerry, however, had been active with the Adamses during the hectic days of 1775, and this fact was an important motive behind the President's desire to restore him to a position of honor. A return to public life was possible, however, only by Presidential appointment, for Gerry informed Adams, ". . . the Federalists, being influenced by Anti-Revolutionists [i.e. opponents to men of 1775] will not vote for me and the Jeffersonianites who principally compose the other party will not seize the opportunity to give me their confidence. . . ."³⁶ This situation did not deter Adams who wrote: "This must be secret—You must prepare yourself for Something—you cannot lie idle beside your fireside in these hard times, you must come to Congress—or assist in someway or other. Your information, Experience, intrepidity and fidelity are not to be lost in such trying times. . . ."³⁷

31. See Albert Beveridge, *The Life of John Marshall* (4 vols., New York, 1916-1919), II, Chaps. I-III.

32. Pinckney to Secretary of State, Feb. 1, 1797, Dept. of State Dispatches from Ministers Abroad, I, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

33. Jan. 30, 1797, Gerry Papers, LC.

34. Feb. 13, 1797, C. F. Adams, editor, *The Works of John Adams*, VIII, 525.

35. On this point see Charles Warren, *The Making of the Constitution* (Boston, 1928), pp. 751-759.

36. Gerry to Adams, March 7, 1797, Gerry Papers, LC.

37. Adams to Gerry, May 3, 1797, John Adams Papers.

Despite these sentiments, Gerry was not the first choice for the XYZ Mission. On May 31, 1797, the President, after conferring with his Cabinet, nominated Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, John Marshall, and Charles Dana to be ministers to France. Pinckney had to be continued, even though France had refused to receive him, or the United States would have suffered a serious loss of prestige. Marshall's vigorous defense of Federalism in Virginia made him a logical candidate.³⁸ Charles Dana, the Cabinet's choice over Gerry, was Chief Justice of the Massachusetts Supreme Court and a former member of the Continental Congress and of the Federal Constitutional Convention. The sectional and political character of the nominations was shown by the Senate vote. All of the four dissenters to Pinckney were Southern Republicans including George Mason and Robert Tazewell from Jefferson's home state. Marshall and Dana were each opposed by John Langdon of New Hampshire and five Southerners.³⁹

When Dana declined the post on grounds of poor health, the President again suggested Gerry to the Cabinet. ". . . All five [*sic!*] voices," wrote Adams, "were unanimously against him. Such inveterate prejudice shocked me. I said nothing, but was determined I would not be a slave to it. He was nominated and approved. . . ."⁴⁰ The Senate vote on Gerry was significantly different from those on the first three nominees. Of the six dissenters to Gerry, two were from the South, two were from Massachusetts and one each from Pennsylvania and Connecticut. Both of Virginia's Republican Senators voted in favor of the nomination.⁴¹

The feelings of Gerry's Federalist opponents were summed up by Senator Theodore Sedgwick of Massachusetts: "Our friend Mr. Gerry is the third of our joint and several ministers to France. No appointment could have been more injudicious. In justice to the President's Council [Cabinet] I ought to tell you, that the nomination was not the result of their approbation, and in justice to my

38. Beveridge, *The Life of John Marshall*, II, Chaps. II and IV.

39. *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate*, I, 243-244.

40. C. F. Adams, editor, *The works of John Adams*, IX, 286-287. See also James McHenry (Adams' Secretary of War) to Timothy Pickering, Feb. 23, 1811, quoted in Lodge, *The Life and Letters of George Cabot*, pp. 204-205. (The Cabinet did not consist of five members until the Navy Department was established in 1798).

41. *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate*, I, 245. (Present-day Senatorial courtesy would have blocked Gerry's confirmation.)

self, I declare that it received my negative. I could not reconcile to myself to approve an appointment so highly improper. . . ."⁴²

Although Adams did not directly consult Gerry before sending his name to the Senate, their frank exchange of views on the French crisis was enough warning of the impending nomination. The only available statement of Gerry's reasons for accepting the post is in a letter to Vice President Jefferson. In it, Gerry stated that he did not want to create a poor impression on public opinion by being the second man to turn down the job, and that he believed that he could reach a peaceful settlement of the crisis with France.⁴³

Although there had been a free exchange of ideas between the President and the new minister, the problem of instructions remained. C. C. Pinckney was in Europe and could not visit the State Department, but John Marshall went to Philadelphia and with the Secretary of State drafted the mission's instructions.⁴⁴ This was an important contact, for Pickering had more first hand information on the Franco-American crisis than anyone else, the President included. Elbridge Gerry did not receive Pickering's advice and counsel; instead, Adams personally handled his instructions through the mail.

On July 7, 1797, Adams acknowledged receipt of Gerry's letter of acceptance and wrote to him:

Mr. Marshall is here and will sail next week for Amsterdam. [He left on July 16; the mission's instructions are dated July 15.] It will be advisable for you to take the first good passage to Amsterdam or Hamburg, and join Pinckney and Mr. Marshall at Amsterdam or Paris as the case may be. *I should have been extremely happy to have seen you here, but I cannot advise you to come.*

Your sentiments are perfectly agreeable to mine, if I were in your case I would agree to anything, that the other two united in—Saving always honor and virtue and essentials—but there will be no danger for Pinckney and Marshall are able and honorable and virtuous men, I mean after having reasoned with them with delicacy and decorum.⁴⁵

^{42.} Sedgwick to Rufus King, June 24, 1797, Charles R. King, editor, *Life and Correspondence of Rufus King* (6 vols., Boston, 1894-1901), II, 193.

^{43.} Gerry to Jefferson, July 6, 1797, *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, XLIX (1895), 437-438.

^{44.} Beveridge, *The Life of John Marshall*, II, Chap. III.

^{45.} John Adams Papers. (The entire letter is quoted except for the opening phrase acknowledging Gerry's letter of acceptance.) Italics supplied.

There was considerable talk among the Federalists about Gerry's record of intractability, and the President was concerned about the possibility of the three ministers being unable to agree on basic principles. So on July 8th he wrote to Gerry: "There is the utmost necessity of harmony, complaisance, and condescension among the three envoys, and unanimity is of great importance. In such negotiations the attention must be on the great objects, and smaller matters must sometimes be yielded or neglected.

"It is my sincere desire that an accommodation may take place, but our national faith, and the honor of our government cannot be sacrificed. . . ."⁴⁶

Although the President did not explain what he meant by "national faith" and "honor," he probably intended that Gerry follow Marshall's lead in carrying out the mission's instructions. His earlier statement that his and Gerry's views on the French crisis were the same should be considered a private opinion superseded by the formal instructions.

Before Gerry received Adams's letters of July 7th and 8th, he wrote to the President asking for a ". . . full communication of your sentiments on the important objects of the mission . . ."⁴⁷ if a personal interview could not be arranged. Gerry had complained about his health⁴⁸ and there was a yellow fever epidemic raging in the capital which were probably the reasons why Adams in his letter of July 7th advised Gerry not to come to Philadelphia. Another possible explanation for the President's position was a desire to avoid personal unpleasantness between Gerry and Pickering for although the appointment had been made solely on his own authority, all of the prestige of the Presidency could not silence the opposition. News of how leading Federalists felt about him reached Gerry and he offered to resign unless Adams had full confidence in him.⁴⁹ The Chief Executive was overly reassuring in his reply. After briefly referring to some of the arguments that had been advanced when Gerry's name was first brought up for the mission, Adams wrote: "Since your appointment all have acquiesced, and there has never been a word lisped in conversation

46. July 8, 1797, C. F. Adams, editor, *The Works of John Adams*, VIII, 547.

47. July 10, 1797, Gerry Papers, LC.

48. May 3, 1797, Gerry Papers, LC.

49. Gerry to Adams, July 14, 1797, Gerry Papers, LC.

or writing against it. . . ."⁵⁰ No mention was made of the feelings of Federalist leaders before and after the appointment had been made. Adams' personal letters and the long formal instructions were the only known guidance that Gerry received for his difficult work as minister to France.

Although the written record of Adams' and Gerry's relations end at this point, there is good reason to believe that the two men had a personal interview before Gerry sailed for France on August 9. The President returned to Massachusetts early in August and the Boston *Columbian Centinal* reported that he was in Quincy, only about five miles from Gerry's home, on the 7th. Gerry's departure was announced in the press as having taken place with a salute from the Castle in Boston harbor on the orders of the Commander in Chief.⁵¹ There is no report of the interview, and no evidence is available on which to form a reasonable deduction of what the two men agreed on.

Certain points not included in the written record of Adams' dealings with Gerry are worth mentioning. Of most importance was the change in American relations with Great Britain which had been brought about by Jay's Treaty. This was significant because French opposition to the Treaty was the basic cause of the crisis in Franco-American relations which the XYZ Mission was intended to resolve. Another noteworthy point was the lack of political awareness on the part of both men. Party lines were well-drawn by 1797, and, although Gerry did not belong to either of the two major parties, his political record militated against him while the Federalists were in power. On this point, Adams' friendship for Gerry overrode practicalities. The views of the Cabinet on the make-up of the XYZ Mission and its instructions received no consideration; the reader of the Adams-Gerry letters feels almost in a vacuum as far as the other leaders of the Administration are concerned. Finally, Gerry had no direct influence on the views expressed in the mission's instructions, even though his private letters to Adams reveal that his thinking was at variance with the Administration's official policy. Gerry had definite opinions on the crisis with France and he should never have been appointed to the XYZ Mission until his views were incorporated

50. Adams to Gerry, July 17, 1797, C. F. Adams, editor, *The Works of John Adams*, VIII, 549.

51. *Boston Columbian Centinal*, August 2, 9, and 19.

into the Mission's instructions or definitely changed to conform with the Administration's position. Neither Gerry or Adams seem to have been aware of this need. Furthermore, the way in which Gerry's instructions was handled was poor. If Gerry could make the long ocean voyage to Europe and travel across France to Paris, he could have gone to Philadelphia and talked with Pickering and Marshall. The XYZ Mission's aims were too complex for a layman in diplomatic affairs to carry out without the guidance of the State Department. Surely, personal and political differences could have been subordinated to the national interest after Gerry was confirmed by the Senate of the United States to be Minister to France.

THE FORGOTTEN LINK:
NEWBURYPORT'S JAMES PARTON

By RICHARD E. WELCH, JR.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL BIOGRAPHY exhibits today a rather split-level nature. We have, on the one hand, the solidly-researched products of "mature scholarship," where if the man is lost in the canvas, the canvas is drawn with meticulous accuracy. On the other hand, we have the sprightly, popular works of "imaginative" biography, where artistry dictates all and dialogue flows without benefit of footnote. Both schools, that which deifies the primary source, that which uses psychology as a sort of plumber's helper, were in large measure "founded" by the same man. The ignored, though quite legitimate, parent was James Parton. Under Parton's hand, American historical biography was both art and science, and though this not unnatural union has occurred since in the works of such writers as Carl Sandburg, Allan Nevins, A. M. Schlesinger, Jr., and others, its incidence has been relatively rare.

Because Parton was for this country a veritable pioneer in the field of historical biography, there is no single work of his that today can claim that nebulous adjective, "definitive." The almost complete absence of basic monographs, bibliographic tools, and major research collections in Parton's time, however, make his instinctive quest for original source material and strenuous effort to verify his evidence the more remarkable and give him fair claim to be judged America's first "scientific" biographer-historian. Equally noteworthy was his conviction that biography was but a division of creative literature, and his appreciation that no historical personage ever came alive on a note card, however accurate the citation. Parton was convinced that he had an obligation to be not only truthful but persuasive. Never willing to pervert the truth for the sake of color or dramatic unity, he appreciated that if a biographer could not persuade his reader that the man lived, there was little point in proving what he accomplished. Unwilling to distort, he saw the necessity of interpretation, selection, artistic balance. Parton would not have understood the biographical division of recent days—J. G. Randall v. Irving Stone; D. S. Freeman v. Harnett Kane; Frank Friedel v. Gerald Johnson—but for all he pioneered. For this man, now almost completely forgotten, held

scholarship and artistry to be inseparable.¹ Innovator, rather than straddler, he would combine honest research and literary craftsmanship. America's early and good-tempered version of Lytton Strachey, both his life and work deserve renewed study and appreciation.

Born in Canterbury, England, in 1822, James Parton was brought to America by his widowed mother some five years later. After a rather mediocre education at an academy at White Plains, New York, he joined the staff of the *New York Home Journal*, earning the princely stipend of ten dollars a week. After six years of literary drudgery under the exacting guidance of Nathan Parker Willis, he drifted rather by chance into free-lance writing, of biography in particular. In America, excepting the efforts of Jared Sparks, Henry Randall, and a few campaign panegyrics, this field had been surprisingly neglected.

Parton's first effort broke completely new ground; for his subject was both living and controversial. *Horace Greeley* came out in December, 1854, and was an almost instantaneous success. For the next thirty-five years, Parton was one of the most popular, well-paid, and important writers of America, and, excepting Oliver Optic and Horatio Alger, probably the most hard-working and prolific. Author of countless essays and lectures, reform pamphlets and tracts, editor of works ranging from *Humorous Poetry of the English Language* to the "Words of Washington," his chief productions were biographies of Horace Greeley, Aaron Burr, Andrew Jackson, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, and Voltaire.

In marriage Parton did not meet with the same degree of success achieved professionally. In January, 1856, he took as his wife, Sara Payson Willis Eldredge, who under the pen name of Fanny Fern had gained considerable reputation as the first professional female columnist in the United States. Her productions were characterized by a certain vivacious, chatty gentility and were highly popular in their day. They were collected under titles of such inevitable whimsy as *Fern Leaves from Fanny's Portfolio* and were eagerly re-bought by their initial consumers. Am-

1. Professor Milton Flower published some half dozen years ago a biography of Parton which skillfully traces his life and career, but offers disappointingly little analysis of his literary contribution and "context." Milton E. Flower, *James Parton: The Father of Modern Biography* (Durham, N. C., 1951).

bitious and charming, Fanny was, by all accounts, a woman of rather spasmodic amiability. She and Parton led for sixteen years a married existence of declining turbulence.

Shortly after Fanny's death, Parton began to spend his summers in Newburyport, Massachusetts, where in 1875 he bought a house, and established permanent residence. It was in Newburyport, in 1876, that he married Miss Ellen Willis Eldredge, Fanny's daughter by a previous marriage. Shortly thereafter, rather compounding confusion, they officially adopted the orphaned child of Fanny's eldest daughter. This child, thereafter known as Ethel Parton, would become one of the leading writers of juvenile literature of the first quarter of the present century. For the rest of Parton's life faithful "Effie" was his most dedicated admirer.

Parton's second marriage was by all accounts one of unalloyed happiness, blessed with two children, Mabel and Hugo, to whom he was completely devoted. Parton exhibited towards country life and Newburyport the unmixed devotion of the convert, took an active part in the town's civic and social affairs, and was generally respected and admired by its citizens. Proud of his literary fame, they were perhaps even more impressed by his agreeable manners and by what they probably termed "his solid good sense." It was in Newburyport that he died in his seventieth year.

The author or editor of some thirty works, Parton's place in the history of American literature must rest primarily on his four major efforts: his lives of Greeley, Jackson, Franklin, and Voltaire. One must look to these volumes for confirmation of the claim that James Parton was the first American biographer to combine painstaking research and literary artistry.

Parton's *Greeley* was, in many ways, a work of apprenticeship. Inferior both in scholarship and style to his later biographies, and now superseded by Glyndon Van Deusen's study, it remains an important and highly readable piece of work. Faced with the task of writing an objective life of a living and controversial contemporary, Parton pioneered the research device of the personal interview and conducted a long journey retracing with exacting care Greeley's early life and apprenticeship in New Hampshire and Vermont. He poured through files of the *Tribune*, listened avidly to Greeley's journalistic foes and admirers, and then with incredible speed wrote the first draft of what has been labeled a

true landmark in American biography. Using the narrative approach of the journalist, he made Greeley come alive by means of the familiar, telling detail. Setting the scene for the more important events in Greeley's life with the care of a top-flight dramatist, he achieved a high degree of intimacy and realism.

The book was marred by the interjection of a certain amount of personal prejudice—the passages denouncing orthodox "damnation dogma" and slavery and praising the "American System" and Clay are cases in point—but to a degree they were justified by the need to judge the personal crotchets of his subject. These interpolations would be less evident in Parton's later works. He would, moreover, never again stress quite so heavily the determining influence of racial and family inheritance and the importance of the configuration of the skull.

Parton's *Greeley* was to put it mildly a sympathetic biography, but it was saved from sycophancy by the evident honesty of the biographer's appreciation of his subject. There was, indeed, a strong similarity between author and subject in their religious views, humanitarian instincts, and crusader temperaments. Parton believed Greeley to be the Franklin of his generation and greatly admired the editor's "Sincerity, Courage, and Humanity." Greeley's great object was, according to Parton, the emancipation of labor "from ignorance, vice, servitude, insecurity, and poverty." Who could quarrel with such a noble goal? As a keen student of human behavior, Parton saw, if he did not stress, the eccentric temperament and querulous enthusiasms of his subject and made a conscious attempt to place him within the context of his times. In the latter effort his success was incomplete. One must admit that Parton's portrait of the man is more convincing than his depiction of the times.

Parton's *Life of Andrew Jackson* in three volumes is perhaps the most unjustly neglected of his major efforts. As witnessed by a thirteen-page "List of Publications Containing Information Respecting Andrew Jackson, His Times and Contemporaries," this work was one of the most elaborately researched of any of the Parton biographies. Now more concerned with what he termed "the raw material of history" and increasingly anxious for his professional reputation, Parton labored with great care over his *Jackson*. It is a more professional product than *Greeley* and generally

a better book. Its organization and style are rather more natural, and, as the author had strong reservations about the political consequences of Jacksonian democracy, it is surely a less idolatrous appraisal. Here as in all his works, the approach is perhaps unduly subjective; there are some ill-considered judgments and a few careless factual errors; there is the tendency unduly to exaggerate both faults and virtues. Yet what emerges is a living Jackson, presented "as he really was, warts and all, without whitewash—but with charity."

The student of today may criticize Parton's black-and-white version of the Nullification Controversy, his undue horror of the spoils system, his superficial explanation for the Panic of 1837, but he must admit that Parton's balanced yet vivid descriptions of Jackson's famous duel with the Bentons, the controversy respecting Rachel's divorce, and the Battle of New Orleans have not been surpassed by any of Jackson's later biographers. Parton's long and brilliant account of the Battle of New Orleans would not be matched in its clarity and dramatic force until Douglas Southall Freeman would accompany Lee to Gettysburg. Having less admiration for Jackson the President than Jackson the soldier, the last volume of this work is inferior to the others. Surely Parton is today not to be viewed as an authority on Jacksonian Democracy, but few have been the studies since that have made Jackson the man as credible a human being, as believable in his passion and patriotism.

The neglect that is now the lot of Parton's next major effort, *The Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin* is more understandable. Carl Van Doren's work has cast all previous biographies into a nearly total shade. If one considers the sources then available, however, Parton's *Franklin* was a brilliant production, in many ways, indeed, his best. It was perhaps the best balanced of his biographies; surely the one in which the man and his "times" were most happily blended. Parton here, as in his *Voltaire*, kept the whole man—elusive, many-faceted genius that he was—always in focus. Illustrative of the book's contemporary reception was the estimate of Charles Eliot Norton in the *North American Review* of July, 1864:

It is a book of larger scope, of wider interest and of greater importance than either of his previous productions. While displaying the same vivacity of mind, the same liberal-

ity of sentiment, the same ardor of feeling and freshness of style, and fertility of illustration . . . it evinces deeper research, more confirmed principles, and a greater maturity of judgment and temperance of statement. It is the book of an author master of his own powers and confident of his own strength.²

Parton's *Voltaire* is in my opinion his major effort. If less successful, in a sense, than the *Franklin*, it is more ambitious. While Morley's contemporary study and many Anglo-American efforts of the present century offer more penetrating insight into Voltaire's time, intellectual background, and philosophy, none has superseded the Parton work as biography. The product of a decade of study, it represented the finest fusion of artistry and scholarship of Parton's literary career. His ability to paint a scene in such a way that it virtually envelops the reader, his sense of dramatic color and balance, his ability to mobilize a vast storehouse of factual information into a convincing effortless narrative were never better displayed.

Now towards the end of his career, Parton forgot the stuffy restraints of his time and allowed his sense of wit and humor free play. He did feel compelled to moralize a bit, but only after he had skillfully recounted the various Voltarian "escapades." His treatment of the farcial and frantic plot to attribute Mme du Châtelet's child to M. du Châtelet would indicate that Parton's ability to understand and sympathize with his subject was in this case almost too successful. If one gains little insight into the causation of the French Revolution by reading the two-volume *Voltaire*, one does gain therefrom a positive reincarnation of one of the most difficult subjects any biographer ever attempted.

It is quite possible that exponents of both current schools of biography would damn Parton if they acknowledged him at all. For the dedicated scholar the lack of specific citation, his relative unconcern with great historical movements, and his occasional tendency towards exaggeration and hasty judgment would appear perhaps sufficiently blameworthy. For the self-proclaimed literary artist his books might be criticized for their sparsity of dialogue, their concern for "proof," their tendency toward conscientious detail on both sides of an historical controversy.

2. *North American Review*, XCIX (July 1864), 302, cited by Flowers, *Parton*, 74.

Few are the practicing biographers of today, however, who could not benefit from a study of Parton's reconstructional technique, his emphasis on character and motivation, his engaging style. The work of an honest, fair, charitable, and highly gifted author, the biographies of James Parton—though largely superseded by recent research—will always bear study by the student who would encompass both scientific method and readability. Not a critical, analytical biographer by present standards, he was a past master of the dramatic method. His ability to impart motion to great masses of fact, to maintain sight of the whole man while elaborating his parts, to bear for his subject an indispensable but critical sympathy have seldom been surpassed. If ever the gulf between the "scholarly" and "popular" biography is bridged, it will probably be accomplished by historian-biographers who have read the works and appreciated the example of James Parton.

GENERAL JOHN GLOVER: LEGEND AND FACT

By RUSSELL W. KNIGHT

DID JOHN GLOVER, Marblehead's famed Revolutionary War General, pensioned by the Continental Congress July, 1782, return to his home fronting the harbor, partition off a corner of his sitting-room and spend the remainder of his life cobbling shoes for a livelihood? A legend accepted by the townspeople for generations maintains he did. And over the years local historians have displayed a marked tendency to support and popularize the story. It proved a delightful bit of folklore and soon was well established and widely quoted.

A century and a half was to pass before the intriguing legend of the General's cobbler shop and his life of poverty was proved erroneous. A short letter, recently uncovered, addressed to a prominent Boston ship chandler unravels the fabric of the legend to disclose a straining, hard-pressed laboring to combat an almost unsurmountable combination of hard-times and lack of money.

Though penned in a firm, clear hand, the letter betrays the fears and apprehensions that crowd the writer's mind as he describes the venture he is about to launch. As he outlines his needs to the city merchant each word reveals Glover's deep-seated unease.

Mr M.M.Hays
Merchant
Boston.

Marblehead 15 Feby 1787.

M.M.Hays
My dear Sir

I am now struggling & exerting every nerve to fix my three vessels for the banks, for which I want 10 or 12, 12 bolts of duck, if you can with conveniency supply me with them; I will absolutely pay in my second fair fish; shall take it a particular favor, you'd please to drop me a line on the subject as early as possible that I may take measures accordingly and am

My Dear Sir

with much esteem
your most obdt
Hbl Ser
Jn Glover

P S. Capt Martin & Wormstead is now
at Boston, shall be obliged you
send the duck by either of them,
if you think it safe to credit me,
they will leave Boston by the
middle of next week. J. G.

Hays evidently shipped the sail cloth, confident that the Marbleheader would pay as promised. For a second letter discovered after months of diligent search throws further light on this hitherto obscure period of Glover's life. The master of one of his vessels has reported from the West Indies, and he hastens to inform the ship chandler:

Marblehead 26 Nov 1787

Mr M.M.Hays

Dear Sir

Permit me to inform, I received letter from Captain Cowell, last evening, of the 2 instant; announcing his arrival at Martineco, and had sold his fish 34/235/, and hoped it would net 27 livres clear duty—he says, I shall this day take on board 10 hogsheads rum, received for Mr Hays candles, which I sold at 5 bits per lb, the only way I could get clear of them, Please to inform Mr Hays, Captain Cowell expected to sail in 5 days, & on his way touch at St Martins, Eustatia or St Barthelmy. Please to inform me by the bearer, Dan Drury, what I can have 600 insurance done for from Martineco to Marblehead, liberty to touch as above; and what will you have done with your rum etc when he arrives, imagine it will fetch here 2/6, pay in Jamaica fish at 12/ or fall merchantable fish—

I am Dear Sir, with Every Consideration
Your most Obedient & Humble Servant

Jn Glover

Twelve months later John Glover, the victim of hard luck, misfortune, and poor fishing, was confronted by an unpleasant chore; he had to draft another letter and forward it to the Boston merchant. The money he owed him was long overdue, and Hays, obviously troubled by the delinquent account, was politely but firmly insisting the indebtedness be discharged. Glover, anxious to comply with the merchant's demands, was in a quandary.

He possessed no ready money. As he saw it, the only solution to his financial dilemma was the sale of his vessels. To the hard pressed but persevering shipowner the very thought of disposing of them was abhorrent. Though deeply disappointed over the failure of his plans, he had no idea of abandoning them.

In a letter that displays commendable honesty and frankness, the plodding Glover wrote Hays a short and colorful account of the failures and misadventures of his vessels:

M.M.Hays
Merchant
Boston

M'head 4 Octr 1788

Dear Sir

Yours of the first have rec'd—a part of the fishery have don tollerable: mine have not been so fortunate, having one returned with the loss of two ancors, all her cables with only 100 quintals fish—I have the pleasure to inform you Capt Cowell arrived here yesterday after having suffered much in the hurrycain of the 14 augst, when his Vessell was drove out Martinero, himself left on shour, She was absent 16 days, then returned in a Shattered Condition with the loss of his jibb, boat, cable & ancor, main boom and 2000 hoops, Staves, Shingles, in short everything on Deck; the amount of which is more than the whole fair she made—the money I am owing you I am very anxious to pay, but the many disappointments and losses, I have met with, has hither too made it impossible to pay you; without selling my vessells; but will make every exertion in my power to pay as much as I can by the time you mention—inclosed is Mr Jones a/c and Capt Cowell will be in Boston in the course of next week and am Dear Sir; with Sentiments of Esteem and Affectionate regard yours

Jn Glover

Mr M Hays

The contrary winds that battered and mauled the vessels General Glover sent to the Grand Banks and the West Indies must have wreaked havoc to his hopes and ambitions. Whether he was able to keep his tiny fleet busy combing the seas for cod and haddock or coursing the islands of the Caribbean on trading voyages after the disasters it experienced is a matter of speculation.

One hopes that time and good fortune will eventually uncover the full and complete story of John Glover and his three vessels.



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THE CROWNINSHIELDS OF SALEM, 1800-1808

A Study in the Politics of Commercial Growth

By WILLIAM T. WHITNEY, JR.

PART II

IN THEIR UNCONCERN with national politics after 1801 the Crowninshields were in full accord with Salem political temper generally.¹ Just as the parties devoted their electioneering efforts to techniques and organization, so the newspapers again refused, as in 1802, to focus upon current national issues. In the spring campaign of 1803 both Kilham and Kittridge, Republican candidates for state Senator, suffered abuse for having voted against ratification of the federal Constitution in the state convention of 1788.² Benjamin Pickman, a Federalist opponent, had allegedly advocated life terms for governor and senators.³ And Hamilton's *Proposition* again found its way into several issues of the *Register* as conclusive evidence of Federalist monarchial ideology. The Republican organ vilified a supposed Federalist attempt to steal the name "Federal Republican," while at the same time the *Gazette* characterized its opponents as "Democrats."⁴

1. This article concludes Mr. Whitney's study of the Crowninshield family. See *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, XCIV (January 1958), 1-36.

2. See *Salem Register*, March 31, 1803.

3. *Ibid.*, April 4, 1803. The *Register* printed a letter signed by Story and four witnesses alleging that Pickman had confessed his sentiments to them. Pickman himself was "aspiring to monarchy." Joseph Story was the Republican hero, for he also had an "engagement at fisty-cuffs" with Hersey Derby. William Bentley, *Diary* (Salem, 1905-1914), III, 18.

4. *Salem Gazette*, March 24, 1803.

The discussion preceding the election in April, 1804, could claim even less real substance. The *Gazette* held its peace except for one writer who parroted the usual deprecatory clichés: "trackless deserts" (Louisiana Purchase), Jacobinical hurley-burley, and atheism.⁵ A few empty sentiments on Republican patriotism and perfunctory criticism of the Jay Treaty, Yazoo speculators, and sedition laws constituted the *Register's* campaigning.⁶ This election was the first in which Elias Haskett Derby, Jr., offered himself as a candidate. These two April election campaigns lend credence to the observation that "national affairs until the latter part of Jefferson's second administration offered no issues which could be brought home to [the] people . . . the personal element was of course a strong factor."⁷ The Salem "personal element"—its family feud—we have examined in detail; our investigation of Salem apathy toward national issues we must develop more fully.

In no way was this apathy better illustrated than by Jacob Crowninshield's experience in Congress. The leader of the Salem Republicans, an energetic participant in the Town's commercial pursuits, and an articulate, informed personality, Jacob Crowninshield above all Salemites should have been able to voice at least one version of the town's interest in national politics, if any such existed.

The marked refusal of Congressman Crowninshield to embrace a broad view of national affairs implies his inability to ascend above the role of Crowninshield the local party chieftain. For Jacob maintained an unbroken silence on noncommercial subjects throughout his Congressional career.⁸ Moreover, his marked tendency to refer commercial topics to the guide of his own experience and interests testified to his unwillingness to repudiate his local orientation.

Jacob Crowninshield entered the first session of the eighth Congress in October, 1803. Joining a House not notable for talent and representing a party not overflowing with merchants, Crown-

5. *Ibid.*, March 30, 1804.

6. *Register*, March 26, 1804.

7. William A. Robinson, *Jeffersonian Democracy in New England* (New Haven, 1916), p. 49.

8. Crowninshield took the opportunity afforded by dull debates to keep up with his correspondence. (Jacob to N. Silsbee, January 30, 1805, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum).

inshield gained immediate recognition as a commercial expert.⁹ His reports and letters to Madison and Jefferson, dealing primarily with trade, were well received.¹⁰ Assigned to the Committee on Commerce and Manufactures, he became its chairman the following year, when Doctor Samuel Mitchell moved over to the Senate.

During the fall of 1803 one national affair loomed over all others. When the news of the Louisiana Purchase arrived, the Jeffersonians rejoiced, and the Federalists plotted secession. Statesmen wondered how much of Florida went with the cession, what were the constitutional restrictions, and would the Spanish give up possession? The French treaty for the purchase of the new empire had first priority for discussion when Crowninshield entered the House. Although the Senate had promptly ratified the treaty on a party vote, the House vigorously debated whether to issue \$11,250,000 in United States stock in order to pay Napoleon.

Disputing the title of the United States to the new empire, the Federalists in the House argued that Spain was still in possession of Louisiana and that no documentary proof existed that she had ever ceded it to France. Roger Griswold of Connecticut then broached the constitutional grounds of Federalist opposition. A "foreign Nation" could not be added to the partnership of states without the consent of all the partners.¹¹

Brushing aside nice points of title and constitutionality, Crowninshield in his maiden speech enthusiastically applauded the purchase. With the Jeffersonians he declared the land to be rich territory secured as a "cheap bargain." But he particularly emphasized the new fields for commercial prosperity which the new empire would open up. With reference to the seventh article of the treaty freeing French and Spanish vessels trading in New Orleans from all duties except those already imposed on American ships, Crowninshield launched into a peroration ex-

9. John Randolph, according to Henry Adams, was the only man of talents in the House at this time. *History of the United States* (New York, 1890), III, 126.

10. One report which Jefferson referred to Crowninshield, concerning American vessels carrying contraband articles, carried the instructions "to do whatever you want to do with it." (Jefferson to Crowninshield, December 29, 1803, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum).

11. *Annals of Congress*, 8th Cong., 1st session, p. 433 (October 25, 1803).

tolling the advantages of wholesale competition. "We actually build cheaper, and can navigate cheaper than any nation on the globe . . . we shall soon see all foreign vessels driven from those ports by an honorable competition with them." Indeed, he anticipated an American monopoly in supplying European colonies in the New World with Mississippi Valley lumber, meat, and flour.¹² The commercial advantages of the Louisiana Purchase had been Crowninshield's great obsession ever since he had first heard of it. At that time not only did he claim that Federalism had suffered a crushing blow, but also declared enthusiastically that the entire West Indian and South American trade would shortly accrue to American producers and shippers.¹³

And for Crowninshield the Louisiana Treaty promised in particular a large profit for his own family. The territory had cost fifteen million dollars, \$3,750,000 of which was to be accounted for by America's assumption of her merchants' spoliation claims against France resulting from the recent undeclared war. As soon as Congress had appropriated the remaining \$11,250,000, thereby sanctioning the treaty, Jacob wrote brother John in Bordeaux. His purpose was to point out the extraordinary opportunity in purchasing below par spoliation-claim certificates in France and then receiving their face value in cash from the American treasury. This could be done because certificate holders, ignorant of the treaty, would still be fearful that their claims would never be honored.¹⁴ The *Gazette*'s description of the Crowninshield attitude to the Louisiana Purchase was an accurate one. Aware, as we have seen, of the commercial and monetary benefits of the cession, Jacob talks "of cheap prices, good bargains, terms of credit etc, as if he were buying and selling India cargoes."¹⁵

In Salem Crowninshield suffered abuse for reading his speech, for wanting to "ratify" the treaty as if he had been a Senator, and for selling out the interests of his section to Mississippi Valley

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 458-459 (October 25, 1803). Later, as chairman of the Committee on Commerce and Manufactures, Crowninshield reported a bill allowing a drawback on goods brought down the Mississippi, and transhipped at New Orleans for re-exportation. (*Ibid.*, 8th Cong., 2nd sess., p. 710).

13. Jacob to Richard Crowninshield, July 1, 1803, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum.

14. Jacob to John, October 30, 1803, Crowninshield MSS, Essex Institute.

15. *Gazette*, November 29, 1803.

shipwrights and foreign merchants.¹⁶ Even in the face of unprecedented Federalist uproar, the *Register* did not bother to enunciate an articulate defense of the Louisiana Purchase.¹⁷ It did, however, lend credence to the "Great Salt Mountain" story which stemmed from a report sent to Jefferson of a huge body of rock salt a trader had discovered on the upper Missouri. This report and a sample of the rock salt Jefferson forwarded to Doctor Mitchell of New York, who gave them to his fellow Congressman, Jacob Crowninshield. The latter mailed them along with the information that the salt mass was 150 miles in circumference to William Bentley, who had the report printed in the *Register*.¹⁸ The incident was symbolic, for it involved some of the leading exponents—all politicians—of the Jeffersonian spirit in science and learning.

During his first year in Congress Crowninshield devoted himself primarily to committee work which included such problems as drawbacks on foreign sugar, private petitions, British countervailing duties, and duties imposed on foreign vessels to support the upkeep of American lighthouses. One of Crowninshield's votes in the House had special significance. On March 16, 1804, a bill passed the House exonerating aliens who had entered the United States between 1798 and 1802 from compliance with the provisions of the Federalists' Alien Act. Although the bill was a liberalization of the Federalist measure, Crowninshield joined a small group of Federalists including Manassah Cutler and Roger Griswold to vote against it. His party loyalty was not, then, unqualified.¹⁹

In November, 1804, Crowninshield of the "Virginia Ticket" easily gained his second election to Congress by a resounding victory over Nathan Read. Salem had projected itself wholeheartedly into the state-wide contest for a general ticket of presidential electors—chosen now by the people, not, as in 1800,

16. *Ibid.*, December 1, 6, 1803.

17. The Louisiana Purchase debate was the most intense party struggle on the national level since 1800. See Samuel E. Morison, *Life and Letters of Harrison Gray Otis* (Boston, 1913), I, 261.

18. Jacob to Bentley, November 13, 1803, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum. Accompanying the sample of salt, which is now in the Essex Institute, is a note in Bentley's hand telling of the many men who had handled the report and the sample. (Bentley MSS, Essex Institute).

19. *Annals of Congress*, 8th Cong., 1st sess., p. 1195.

by the Legislature; no anti-Crowninshield letters appeared in the *Gazette*, and, in fact, the Federalists did not name a candidate until a week before the election. Editorially the paper painted Crowninshield as a pawn of Virginia who had advocated "the purchase of wild land for Virginian speculators."²⁰ And the Danvers Federalists were told that in voting against Crowninshield, "You will have the cooperation of a DERBY, a PRESCOTT, a PICKMAN, and all the characters you most respect."²¹ After defeat, however, the *Gazette* consoled the Federalists by professing faith in Crowninshield's ultimate conversion.²²

In testing the accuracy of this prediction, we have to weigh Jacob's comment on the election—"their [the Federalists'] wickedness & folly have bro^t them to this degrading situation"—with his actions in Congress late in 1804.²³ There the administration's proposal to restrict American trade with Santo Domingo was bitterly distasteful to Crowninshield. His reaction evinced a willingness, if not to be converted, at least to subordinate the Republican party-line to his own interests.

Yellow fever and a slave insurrection had decimated Leclerc's French army so that Santo Domingo, the proposed center for his French West Indian empire, had slipped from Napoleon's grasp.²⁴ Although Rochambeau had surrendered the last French force in November, 1803, and the insurgent Dessalines two months later declared Santo Domingo independent, Napoleon continued to maintain a paper blockade around an imaginary sovereignty within the island. Certain American merchants opened up with the Negroes a rich coffee and sugar trade which they pursued armed and in convoy to repel the French privateers.²⁵

Jefferson's message to Congress on November 8, 1804, denounced American citizens who were forcing this illicit trade with blockaded ports, thereby waging "private war."²⁶ Here Fed-

20. *Gazette*, November 2, 1804.

21. *Register*, November 8, 1804, quoted from a Federalist broadside.

22. *Gazette*, November 6, 1804. He will "awaken to a sense of the dangers which threaten us from the South."

23. Jacob to Richard, December 2, 1804, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum.

24. E. Wilson Lyon, *Louisiana in French Diplomacy* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1934), p. 193.

25. Adams, *History of the United States*, III, 87.

26. J. D. Richardson, ed., *Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897* (Washington, 1907), I, 358.

eralist nostrils picked up the scent of French influence in the councils of the nation, for minister Pinchon in May and his successor Turreau later had both made vigorous protests against the American trade with Santo Domingo.²⁷ Administration prodding secured in March, 1805, the enactment of a bill requiring that heavy bonds be taken out by armed merchant vessels clearing for Santo Domingo as a guarantee that they not engage French warships blockading the island.

France, however, was unsatisfied, and Talleyrand told Jefferson through the American minister that "tolerance must last no longer,"²⁸ which according to the Federalists persuaded the Republican Congress in February, 1805, to impose a total interdiction on the Santo Domingo trade. "The Parliament of Paris could not have registered an Edict of Louis XIV, with greater promptitude than the loyal Congress of the United States have registered the edict of the Imperial Bonaparte."²⁹ Crowninshield worked against both bills and in 1806 actually joined the Federalists in trying to keep the trade open.

In November, 1804, Jacob Crowninshield deplored the restriction which he knew the Republican Congress would inevitably sanction, but instead of rebelling, he used "all the influence in my power" to make restriction as light as possible.³⁰ The bill, as reported, designated double the value of vessel, tackle, and cargo as the required bond on armed merchant vessels clearing for Santo Domingo that they not engage with French vessels. The House approved the bill with a Crowninshield amendment stipulating that the bond not include the cargo. At the time, he said, "He saw no reason why that trade was to be wholly interdicted."³¹ Crowninshield voted for the bill only because his amendment had rendered it "not . . . very embarrassing [sic] to commerce"

27. Anna C. Clauder, *American Commerce in the War of the French Revolution and Napoleon* (Philadelphia, 1932), p. 61.

28. Talleyrand to Armstrong, August 16, 1805, printed in *Salem Register*, January 22, 1806.

29. *Gazette*, March 7, 1806.

30. Jacob to Richard, November 19, 1804, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum.

31. *Annals of Congress*, 8th Cong., 2nd sess., pp. 825, 826. "Commerce will always be most flourishing when left most free to individual enterprise," argued Crowninshield.

and because he feared that if it had been rejected, his party would have prohibited the trade altogether.³²

A year later when Jefferson demanded total stoppage of the trade, the brief Congressional debate included a lengthy speech by Crowninshield denouncing the administration's proposal. He declared that American merchants had a right to free trade, that the blacks deserved freedom, and that the Negroes would become, if their American trade were stopped, either a nation of pirates or a pawn of Great Britain.³³ Crowninshield joined the Federalists, including Dana, Quincy, and Van Rensselaer, in futile opposition to the bill which passed the House 93-26.

Crowninshield only succeeded in acutely embarrassing his Republican friends. The *Register* had long enjoined the rebellious Negroes of the Island to submit "to the necessary subordination, upon which civil society depends" and had deplored Pickering as the friend of the insurgent leader Toussaint.³⁴ Crowninshield had placed himself on the side of Pickering and against the *Register*, and the *Gazette* joyously announced in 1805 that Crowninshield "may possibly be finally convinced" that Virginia Republicanism plotted the ruin of commercial interests.³⁵ The failure of the Salem Republicans to celebrate Jefferson's second inaugural was indeed a sign that even "his *hottest* friends cannot long stick by him."³⁶

The explanation of Crowninshield's abandonment of party loyalty in this matter was his own commercial interest regarding an experimental venture George Crowninshield & Sons launched in 1804. Until that year the firm had relentlessly driven all its resources into the East India pepper trade. The prerequisite for an India voyage was a supply of some thirty to fifty thousand dollars in specie, necessitating extraordinary exertions before each voyage for its collection. And early in 1804 specie was especially scarce.

In January the *Belisarius*, *Concord*, *Margaret*, *Telemachus*, and nearly-constructed *America* were waiting in Salem for the

32. Jacob to Bentley, December 24, 1804, Bentley MSS, American Antiquarian Society.

33. *Annals of Congress*, 9th Cong., 1st sess., pp. 510-511.

34. *Register*, March 29, 1802.

35. *Gazette*, February 5, 1805. The comment accompanied the reprinting of Crowninshield's speech supporting his amendment.

36. *Ibid.*, March 5, 1805.

dollars to carry on their outward voyages to the Indies.³⁷ Richard Crowninshield, the firm's banker operating in New York, tried to convert bills of exchange and goods on hand into hard currency. Although successful in finding thirty thousand dollars which allowed the ship *Belisarius* to sail, Richard vainly searched for a month in New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore for more.³⁸ On Jacob's advice he then travelled to Georgetown, where the brothers obtained fifty thousand dollars which enabled the ships *Concord* and *Margaret* to sail.³⁹ Shortly thereafter two Bordeaux firms with which the Crowninshields had long been associated went bankrupt; their own loss was upwards of forty thousand dollars.⁴⁰ The firm thereafter had no hope of securing more specie, and the remaining India voyages had to be cancelled.

Small wonder, then, that the new *America* lay idle at India wharf until July, and that the brig *Telemachus* cleared not for the East Indies but for Jacquemel, Santo Domingo, with a cheap cargo of meat and wine.⁴¹ When the *Telemachus* returned in May with a profitable cargo of coffee, the Crowninshields bought the ship *John* from the Derbys and sent both vessels to Santo Domingo armed and uninsured.⁴² Despite hurricanes and French privateers operating out of Guadeloupe, the vessels returned in November with 430,000 pounds of coffee, the profit from which Jacob reckoned at thirty thousand dollars—"A good four months job."⁴³

37. Jacob to Richard, January 20, 1804, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum.

38. On *Belisarius*, see G. Crowninshield, Sr., to Richard, February 5, 1804, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum.

39. Jacob to Benjamin W., January 28, 1804, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum.

40. Jacob to Richard, March 18, 27, 1804, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum. The bankrupt firms were Strobel & Martin and Perrot & Lee.

41. Jacob to Richard, May 16, 1804, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum. Richard had bought salt pork in New York and shipped it to Salem for the voyage.

42. Jacob to Richard, June 12, 1804, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum. In April the firm also contemplated sending the ship *Fame* to Santo Domingo; she had returned from Manila in March (G. Crowninshield & Sons to Jacob Ashton, Marine Insurance Office, April 23, 1804, Crowninshield MSS, Essex Institute).

43. Jacob to Richard, October 30, November 29, 1804, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum. These privateers had captured the Salem vessel *Snake-in-the-Grass* and tortured and imprisoned her crew. See *Gazette*, August 21, 1804.

The local Federalist organ was therefore able to take Jefferson's censure of "private war" rather lightly; after all, "we have the high example of Capt. Crowninshield . . . who is deeply engaged in it."⁴⁴ Silsbee, part owner of the *John's* cargo, was glad to hear from Jacob that the restrictive bill passing the House in December, 1804, requiring bonds, "does not shut up this Commerce, *it can be carried on as before.*"⁴⁵ Our analysis of Crowninshield's Congressional attitude toward the Santo Domingo trade must therefore agree in part at least with Cushing's. "It is by commerce he accumulates his wealth . . . and on this point he is tender and discerning."⁴⁶

Notwithstanding steadfast watchfulness over his own interests, Crowninshield earned the marked respect of his colleagues. In November, 1804, he engineered the election of his friend Bentley to the chaplainship of the House.⁴⁷ A few months later Levi Lincoln resigned as Attorney-General and when Robert Smith replaced him, Jefferson offered Jacob Crowninshield the vacant post of the Secretary of the Navy. Although he declined on account of his wife's ill-health and disinclination to leave Salem, Crowninshield was actually tendered the commission in March, 1805. Though nominal Secretary of the Navy until his death, Crowninshield never assumed the duties of his office.⁴⁸

A strict attention to his own area of experience characterized Crowninshield's Congressional career. In the Louisiana and Santo Domingo debates, for example, he had particular family interests in mind. And just as Salem took no special interest in national affairs, nor did its Representative. Apathy toward important national problems shown by Salem and Jacob Crowninshield was apparent in local politics as well through 1805 and early 1806.

During these years, just as in the preceding two, the Crown-

44. *Gazette*, November 20, 1804.

45. Jacob to N. Silsbee, January 9, 1805, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum.

46. *Gazette*, January 4, 1805. The *Gazette* was commenting on Jacob's letter of December 24 which Bentley had published in the *Register* of January 3.

47. Jacob to Bentley, November 7, 1804, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum. "Surely there is a reward to the righteous," declared the *Gazette*, November 20, 1804. Bentley did not accept.

48. Jacob to T. Jefferson, Jan. 24, 1805, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum. Robert Smith took charge of both Departments, and the Navy Department languished in accordance with Jefferson's hatred of that branch of service.

inshields found that it was their local rivalries which called forth political exertions. But while in the earlier period the family was on the defensive before Federalist onslaughts, now the Crowninshields were to struggle on even terms with the Derbys for local leadership. The Derbys, moreover, suffered serious setbacks in their local prestige, until by 1806 their hegemony had completely crumbled.

Jacob Crowninshield betrayed a determination to protect the local bases of his power during the summer of 1805 by entering the newspaper business. Editor William Carlton died in July, and the day after his burial Bentley joined the Crowninshields in a turtle feast to discuss the fate of the *Register*. Rejecting the three successors immediately available, the group made Bentley temporary editor of the newspaper, now in the ownership of Carlton's widow.⁴⁹ But she died within a month, and for two years thereafter the Salem *Register* was edited by the parson and published "for the proprietors," who were Jacob Crowninshield, John Hawthorne, and Joshua Ward. This arrangement continued until Bentley became disgusted with doing all of the work and receiving none of the profit. Messrs. Pool and Palfrey purchased the newspaper in July, 1807, subject to a covenant that it be conducted "upon sound republican principles" and that the first chance to buy it back be given to "said Joshua, Jacob, and John."⁵⁰

The May elections came to have the greatest influence each year in attracting Salem's attention to political affairs outside the town. These elections for choice of town representatives had at stake not only control of the state Legislature but also, as the *Register* pointed out, the disposal of the state offices. A Republican House of Representatives would choose a Republican Governor's Council which could exert a mighty influence on the Governor to make Republican appointments.⁵¹ The election of May, 1805, for example, found Salem up in arms over Boston's maneuver. That town, strongly Federalist, had decided to send twenty-six representatives, an increase by twenty-one over 1804.

49. Bentley, *op. cit.*, III, 178. The Republicans attributed Carlton's sickness and death to the harsh conditions of his imprisonment where he was "treat[ed] . . . a Debtor." (*Ibid.*, III, 21). "Thus departed the youthful victim of political party." (*Ibid.*, III, 178).

50. *Ibid.* III, 244; Harriet S. Tapley, *Salem Imprints* (Salem, 1927), pp. 140-141.

51. *Register*, May 13, 1805.

Salem with other Republican towns countered by hiking her own number, and in the election meeting Jacob Crowninshield proposed increasing the town's representation from three to six.⁵² The Republican slate won, and among the defeated was Samuel G. Derby, of the family "most violently opposed to their Cousins Crowninshields with whom this individual is at war."⁵³

Within a month Salem attention was riveted on an explosive local issue. Nowhere was the economic rivalry between the Crowninshields and the Derbys more apparent than in a Derby attempt to undersell the Crowninshield house lots.

As an expanding town Salem offered men with capital the profitable opportunity of buying house lots for speculation. The Crowninshields purchased lots adjacent to Derby wharf in 1800, and three years later bought the large tract given up by the famous but bankrupt shipbuilder Retire Beckett. These accretions made the family property "the first in value in Salem."⁵⁴ In 1804 they picked up the Cogswell estate east of Beckett's, and two years later purchased for \$12,000 another tract in the eastern part of Salem with room for twelve house lots.⁵⁵ Bentley recorded that land costing \$700 in 1804 brought \$2500 within two years. "The rise of Lands is beyond all expectation. The Lots below [eastward] of Crowninshield's wharf . . . will soon be covered."⁵⁶

Salem settlement stretched east and west along the peninsula lying between the North and South Rivers. All the Crowninshield lots were situated at the eastern end of town in the path of migration. But across the South River lay Derby land which for the lack of a convenient bridge had attracted few settlers. Hersey Derby also owned a new residence of considerable splendor on the other side.⁵⁷

When Hasket Derby in 1805 proposed to undertake the construction of such a bridge at his own expense, the town flared in-

52. *Ibid.*, May 9, 20, 1805.

53. Bentley, *op. cit.*, III, 158.

54. Richard to John, May 24, 1800, and Jacob to Richard, June 29, 1803, Crowninshield MSS, Essex Institute.

55. Jacob to Richard, September 29, 1804, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum, and Richard to John, July 13, 1806, Crowninshield MSS, Essex Institute.

56. Bentley, *op. cit.*, III, 251. "The land in the East is growing more valuable daily." (Richard to John, November 13, 1804, Crowninshield MSS, Essex Institute).

57. James D. Phillips, *Salem and the Indies* (Boston, 1947), p. 253.

to the most excited hysteria since the Crowninshield-Pickering election contest. The *Register* reprobated Derby's plan, pointing out that the eastern part of Salem provided enough room for expansion. It also argued that access to the main harbor from wharves belonging to Joshua Ward and William Orne up South River, would be cut off by the bridge.⁵⁸ The friends of the bridge contended that the expansion demanded cheap land and suggested that the bridge would facilitate overland communication with Marblehead.⁵⁹ On June 10 the first town meeting to deal with Derbys' proposal repudiated the bridge by four votes. But within a few days the sudden erection by the anti-bridge forces of a building where the bridge had been intended to cross infuriated so many citizens that the second town meeting approved the bridge by 180 votes.⁶⁰ The Crowninshields naturally argued against the bridge in both meetings; if Derby succeeded in opening up his lands for sale, Crowninshield lands would be cheapened.⁶¹ In February, 1806, the Legislature sanctioned Derbys' petition for a bridge.⁶² The Crowninshields, however, never suffered adverse affects from the bridge. Only one-half of it had been completed by 1808, and the demand for Crowninshield lots apparently did not lessen, for in September, 1805, they sold one house and six lots for \$7545.⁶³

When the question arose of the disposal of town lands in the eastern section of Salem adjacent to Crowninshield tracts, the family found their interests again threatened by Federalist opposition. The new Crowninshield wharf extended from the eastern extremity of the waterfront and had been intended to serve what the family believed was "another parish" growing up on the eastern lands near the wharf. They desired to provide shipping facilities for the new inhabitants, those who would buy the town lands.⁶⁴ Moreover, the family was interested in buying some of the town lands themselves for speculation. When an *ad hoc*

58. *Register*, May 27, 1805.

59. *Gazette*, June 7, 1805; the success of the new Charlestown to Boston bridge was cited.

60. *Gazette*, June 11, 18, 1805.

61. Bentley, *op. cit.*, III, 165.

62. *Gazette*, February 28, 1806.

63. Bentley, *op. cit.*, III, 390; memo in Crowninshield MSS, Essex Institute.

64. Richard to John, December 4, 1803, Crowninshield MSS, Essex Institute.

town committee was formed to decide whether the town should dispose of its lands, the Crowninshields naturally favored immediate sale. The *Register* also advocated opening up the eastern area.⁶⁵

A town meeting gathered on August 13, 1805, to rule on the committee's decision that the lands ought to be put up for sale. Jacob Crowninshield moved for approving the report, and Ben W. Crowninshield seconded his brother's motion. Samuel Putnam argued that land long ago owned by the town proprietors now belonged to their heirs. The future state Supreme Court justice declared that the grasping Crowninshields merely wanted the chance to buy up all the land for resale. Ben Crowninshield answered that the proprietors had stolen the land from the Indians and that the heirs never could, in justice, claim the land. "A very large majority" voted in favor of the Crowninshield arguments.⁶⁶ The Crowninshields' eastern end of Salem would be booming hereafter, and the Derbys and others could only in vain offer their southern and western lands in competition.

Litigation concerning the new Crowninshield wharf likewise continued into these years. Since October, 1803, the wharf had received periodic jury visits, and once the court had ordered its shortening.⁶⁷ But Hasket Derby was still not satisfied, and in 1806 the Supreme Court, rejecting the Crowninshield argument that the channel was in no way obstructed, ruled that another forty feet be removed.⁶⁸

The wharf dispute had always had at its root economic rivalry. The Crowninshield wharf reached the deepest waters and served the growing section of town. At the same time the Derbys realized that their own wharf was being injured by a sand bar caused by its proximity to the mouth of the South River, though they claimed that the Crowninshield wharf was at fault. In February, 1806, in fact, the Derby heirs petitioned the Legislature seeking approval to lengthen their own wharf.⁶⁹

Not only were the Derbys faced with new Crowninshield inroads in the town's economic growth and expansion but also

65. *Register*, June 20, 24, 1805.

66. *Gazette*, August 16, 20, 1805.

67. Bentley, *op. cit.*, III, 153.

68. *Ibid.*, p. 268.

69. *Register*, February 10, 1806.

with a Republican bid for equality in Salem society. The Federalist oligarchy had manifested its supremacy in 1802 by excluding Republicans from the town's one dancing assembly. But when a rival dancing assembly made its debut in November, 1805, offering—in Republican eyes—the best music and most accomplished dancers, it was proclaimed by them a magnificent success.⁷⁰ "I rejoice heartily at the victory," Silsbee was told; "you have outdone the federalists."⁷¹ The voice of an upstart, no doubt, but a tone of confidence in matching the established families had replaced the frustrations of previous years. Bentley could not conceal his smugness when "All that I hear from the opposition is that it was 'folly to have separated.' One who dared to make inquiries by way of reproach was called to account by Capt. J [oseph] W[hite], Jr."⁷²

Accompanying the Republican rise in Salem society was a threat of another sort to the Federalists' social preeminence—scandal in the Derby family. Elias Hasket Derby's daughter and her husband Nathaniel West had first separated in 1803 after a long quarrel between West and his wife's brothers over the division of the Derby estate.⁷³ In particular, Hasket Derby had fought West's claim to the Derby Danvers farm.⁷⁴ Now, in 1806, Hasket found himself masterminding his sister's divorce case. This case had political overtones, for West had withdrawn his name from the Derby's suit against the Crowninshield wharf in 1803. The Republican lawyers Joseph Story and Samuel Dexter defended West, and the Federalists William Prescott and Samuel Putnam argued Mrs. West's case.⁷⁵ But any political implications were dwarfed by the lurid evidence of loose morals unearthed by the trial. Hasket Derby allegedly corrupted the judges, and the whole affair, an exposure of much dirty laundry, excited bitter

70. Bentley, *op. cit.*, III, 201, 203.

71. Jacob to N. Silsbee, December 29, 1805, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum.

72. Bentley to Jacob, December 16, 1805, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum.

73. Bentley, *op. cit.*, II, 353 and III, 56. Hasket Derby and West had engaged in a bloody fist-fight on Derby wharf in 1800. "It is now apparent," said Bentley of the separation, "that Timothy Dexter of N.P. is not the only example of riches without honour."

74. *Ibid.*, III, 262.

75. *Ibid.*, III, 45, 260. Samuel Dexter had defended the Federalist dueller Selfridge and Crowninshield in the Ward fence case.

animosity against the family. "Such," concluded a Republican, "is the great family of D[erby]."⁷⁶

The fact was that the Derbys had lost all semblance of local social and economic leadership. Many signs marked their decline. After the election of November, 1804, it was noted that "their Party [the Federalists] is much Chopfallen & taulk [sic] of Moeving [sic] to Boston all of them." Benjamin Pickman, "King" Derby's son-in-law, advertised his property for sale in June, 1806, and was known to be leaving for Boston.⁷⁷ Richard and John Derby had already moved there as had their three sisters. Even Elias Hasket Derby Jr. was shortly to migrate to Londonderry, New Hampshire.⁷⁸ "The family have lost their influence in the loss of their Father."⁷⁹

The Crowninshield-Derby feud was concluded in 1806 by the settlement of the riot case brought against George Crowninshield involving the Ward fence. It came before the state Supreme Court in April, 1806, after a long history of hung juries and party strife. Gray and Hasket Derby had consistently led the prosecution, and they had repeatedly called upon their Federalist friends to testify against the Crowninshields.⁸⁰ Now the court ordered a *nol prosequi*, imposing only the payment of court expenses on the Crowninshields. "We consider it a sort of triumph," wrote Jacob, for the case had been dismissed "to the extreme mortification of the Derbys & Wards & your other federal friends."⁸¹ Never again were the Crowninshields dragged into court; the Derbys had given up.

Most symptomatic of the end of the Derby domination were the astounding proceedings of the May, 1806, election meeting. The Court House was overflowing for the occasion and no one could take a valid count of hands. A Federal speaker suggested, regarding the choice of the number of representatives, that the

76. *Ibid.*, III, 260, 261. "All the sweepings of the Brothels of Boston" were displayed in open court. The divorce was granted.

77. *Ibid.*, III, 148, 234; G. Crowninshield Sr. to Richard, November 6, 1804, Crowninshield MSS, Essex Institute.

78. Perley Derby, "Genealogy of the Derby Family," EIHC, (1861) III, 285-287.

79. Bentley, *op. cit.*, III, 234.

80. See George F. Dow, ed., *Diaries and Letters of Benjamin Pickman* (Newport, 1928), entries for May 23 and November 29, 1804.

81. Bentley, *op. cit.*, III, 225; Jacob to John, May 2, 1806, Crowninshield MSS, Essex Institute.

parties go outside to line up on opposite sides of the street and be counted. The Republican moderator countered by proposing that the voters all line up on the same side of the street, with the Republicans forming the left wing, the Federalists the right. But by this tactic the Federalist line would have stretched over the narrow makeshift South River Bridge and beyond. The Federalists declared that the Republicans rather than be counted planned a dash back into the Hall; they would be stranded while their enemies locked the doors and started voting. Hawthorne then arbitrarily ordered the parties to file out the doors and be counted on the way. The Republicans obeyed and were counted. The Federalists refused to abandon the Hall, were not counted, and thereby lost to the Republican plan of nine representatives.⁸² "Mr. Moderator, Mr. Moderator," Hasket Derby cried out, "I . . . protest against your proceedings—Mr. C[rowninshield] having observed that the gentleman's opinions were of no consequence—the gentleman growing faint from the foulness of the air, rushing out in the ranks of expiring federalism to a fresher breeze."⁸³ The Republicans, in solitude, elected their men without opposition. The affair climaxed the long power struggle which had been seething since 1801.

The *ancien régime* had suffered its death blow. "One or two more defeats, and its sun sets."⁸⁴ The Federalists did not even bother in November, 1806, to put up a candidate against Crowninshield for Congressman until the very day of the election.⁸⁵ Nothing is more indicative of the death of Federalist power. But the Derbys' political demise served only to cap the complete disintegration of the family's traditional economic and social hegemony in Salem.

The Derbys' surrender closed an era in Crowninshield politics. Ever since the time when the issue of the undeclared war with France had vanished from the Salem scene, the Crowninshields had grounded their political activity on a local rationalization. Local animosities, not national issues, a local power struggle, not the ab-

82. *Gazette*, May 16, 1806.

83. Derby's humiliation was described in the *Register*, May 22, 1806.

84. *Ibid.*, May 19, 1806.

85. *Gazette*, November 7, 1806. Not a word of the forthcoming election was mentioned in the *Gazette*. Samuel Putnam was the last-minute Federalist candidate. (Cf. Bentley, *op. cit.*, III, 258).

stract appeal of the Jeffersonian party-line—these were the motivations for Crowninshield Republicanism after 1801.

Britain declared war on Napoleonic France on May 16, 1803. Since then Napoleon's armies had been marching victoriously over the European Continent, and the English Navy had been gaining mastery of European waters. The victory at Trafalgar in December, 1805, gave Britain control at sea, and she acted at once to choke the Continent by naval blockade. To acquiesce in this blockade and incur French resentment or to uphold the neutral's right of free commerce and reap British hostility was now America's dilemma. Jefferson's administration, determined to keep the United States neutral, undertook to find means to enforce this policy. The crucial importance which the neutrality question suddenly acquired late in 1805 and the ending at the same time of local hostilities combined to give Salem politics a new national outlook.

Salem, if newspaper discussion is any indication, paid little attention to the problem of neutrality prior to Trafalgar. Her merchants for a long time had even viewed the European war with favor. France, when she went to war with Britain in 1793, had opened her colonial ports to American vessels. America exploited these new trade routes, and the carrying trade which Salem embarked upon rightfully earned John Randolph's characterization: "a mere fungus—a mushroom production of war."⁸⁶ The combined American total for imports and exports in 1807 was a record which the nation never again approached until 1839.⁸⁷ George Cabot, it is said, tolerated foreign depredations on his commerce because the increased risk enabled him to charge more for his cargoes; an American merchant profited even if two out of three of his vessels were captured.⁸⁸

No wonder, then, that one paper wrote: "America might enjoy the blessings of peace, and reap all the advantages which can

86. *Annals of Congress*, 9th Cong., 1st sess., p. 559. When in 1803 war was imminent, Bentley recorded that "many in the Commercial world wish it" (Bentley, *op. cit.*, III, 20). Clauder attributes expansion of American overseas trade to this act of the National Convention, *op. cit.*, pp. 28, 67.

87. Robert G. Albion and J. W. Pope, *Sea Lanes in Wartime* (New York, 1942), p. 93.

88. Edward Channing, *History of the United States* (New York, 1926), IV, 352.

fairly be derived from those conflicts of others" and that a Crowninshield declared: "War will help our voyages, if our ships get home in safety."⁸⁹ For a time after hostilities commenced in 1803 the probability was good that Salem vessels actually would return unmolested. Britain even guaranteed a measure of safety for American shipping. A British order of June, 1803, published in the *Gazette*, directed the commanders of British warships not to seize neutrals carrying their own property from French colonies to their home country. In addition, a British Order in Council of January, 1804, officially sanctioned the importation of French colonial produce into the United States.⁹⁰ These rulings led to the practice of the broken voyage, by which Americans shipped colonial produce to the continent by way of the United States. As long as Salem merchants with profit and a minimum of risk could exploit trade opened up by the war, the newspapers found little call to reprobate depredations or to examine neutral rights.⁹¹

The Crowninshields along with the rest of Salem paid little attention to neutrality. The *Hind* was the only Crowninshield vessel molested before 1806. As she lay off Beachy Head in 1804 the British impressed a seaman, Joseph Girdler.⁹² "The war having again commenced in Europe," announced Richard, "our interests are & will be to remain Neutral & protect our property in a fair trade."⁹³ In this platitude we find the only reference to the

89. *Gazette*, August 9, 1805; Jacob to Richard, May 8, 1803, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum. Actually the Republicans seemed more prone to condemn the war on moral grounds than the Federalists. Before the Treaty of Amiens had been signed, a Federalist paper observed that "the conclusion of a General Peace in Europe will be the commencement of the decline of our commerce. Every friend to American navigation ought to pray . . . fervently for a continuation of the war" (quoted from the *Columbian Centinel* by the *Register*, August 28, 1800). Recorded Jacob Crowninshield on the other hand, "PEACE, PEACE in Europe . . . we repubⁿs heartily rejoice at it, many how^r will suffer . . . Many long faces among the feds." (Jacob to Richard, November 16, 1801, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum).

90. *Gazette*, September 20, 1803; Clauder, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70.

91. The *Gazette* devoted its discussion of the neutrality question during 1803 and 1804 first to a demand for naval protection—"spirited measures"—(see *Gazette* March 20, 1804, October 8, 1805), and, second, to attacking Napoleon, who, at the head of revolutionary France, had married "universal dominion" to the old enemy, levelling Jacobinism. The *Gazette* paid neutrality little attention because there was a contradiction in advocating a navy to fight the British navy while depending on the British navy to protect America from Napoleon.

92. *Gazette*, September 4, 1804.

93. Richard to John, July 14, 1803, Crowninshield MSS, Essex Institute.

problems of neutral commerce which the family made in correspondence during 1803 and 1804. And the Crowninshields, who devoted nearly every letter to commercial affairs, would have emphasized the hardships of neutral trade if such existed.

Thus at the time of Nelson's victory off Cape Trafalgar neither Salem nor the Crowninshields had been much concerned with the issue of neutrality. But the consequence of Trafalgar, British domination on the high seas, and the *Essex* decision, news of which reached Salem in September, 1805, brought neutrality into the forefront of political discussion. Salem was now to reroute her political life back into a participation in national politics.

The *Essex* ruling by a British court of admiralty held that the American practice of shipping colonial produce to Europe by way of the United States constituted a "continuous voyage" and for this reason violated the English "Rule of 1756." This rule held that trade closed in peacetime was not open in wartime.⁹⁴ Since in peacetime American were not allowed to carry goods from French or Spanish colonies to their mother countries, the *Essex* decision destroyed the sanctuary of the "broken voyage" under which Salem had been pursuing this lucrative trade.

The town was alarmed. "This is just the time when the public mind is agitated."⁹⁵ Jacob Crowninshield feared that the ruling "will ultimately injure the whole commerce of the country." Furthermore, "England contemplated the destruction of our whole carrying trade; [soon we must] look the British Lyon [*sic*] full in the face."⁹⁶

Jefferson did just that. Advocating passive rather than aggressive retaliation, he urged measures calculated to assert decisively America's right to unhampered neutral commerce. In accordance with this policy a Republican Congress passed a Non-Importation Act in April, 1806, and the Embargo Act in December, 1807. Both of these measures for commercial restriction had the Crowninshield's unqualified support. But his fellow New England merchants for the most part took an attitude of passionate protest. Why then did the Crowninshields remain Jeffersonian and fight

94. Julius W. Pratt, *A History of United States Foreign Policy* (New York, 1955), p. 117.

95. Bentley, *op. cit.*, III, 193.

96. Jacob to T. Jefferson, September 11, 1805; Jacob to N. Silsbee, December 29, 1805, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum.

for non-importation and embargo despite the severe restrictions which these measures imposed upon their own commerce? According to one writer, it seemed to Massachusetts merchants "outrageous and hypocritical . . . to have one's own fleet scuttled by act of Congress."⁹⁷ James Duncan Phillips could account for the anomaly of Salem merchants who were Republican only by their obsession with "local jealousies and petty squabbles." Mr. Phillips used as a chapter-head the expression "Jefferson's Wicked Tyrannical Embargo" and it was his judgment that "the real interests of the town were undoubtedly along the lines pursued for so many years by the Federalist party."⁹⁸ But in fact the Crowninshields believed that their real commercial interests demanded a firm national policy of restriction on American commerce, the very policy so deplorable to the Federalists.

Jacob Crowninshield had little sympathy for the rationalization that his fellow Republicans usually gave neutrality. Indeed Crowninshield's view—radical and extremist—perverted Jeffersonian dogma on the protection of neutral rights. He grounded his support for the Jeffersonian policy on requirements stemming out of his own commercial situation. His singular justification for supporting measures taken for the protection of neutral rights produced a unique attitude toward neutrality itself. The peculiar complexion of Jacob's views on neutrality he revealed strikingly in the Congressional debate of early 1800 over the proposition for non-importation of British goods.

To force Britain to disavow the *Essex* decision and to respect our "just claims" the United States had to exert "Pressure" on Great Britain, advised James Monroe, writing from England.⁹⁹ The advice prompted Jefferson to demand from Congress retaliatory measures.¹⁰⁰ Accordingly, Andrew Gregg moved a resolution in the House on January 29, 1806, forbidding the importation of British or British colonial products into the United States. Other proposals were made, but all were discarded except Nicholson's—

97. Samuel E. Morison, *Maritime History of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1921), p. 187.

98. Phillips, *Salem and the Indies*, p. 261. This characterization of the Embargo is taken from Benjamin Pickman's Diary, February 11, 1809.

99. J. Monroe to J. Madison, October 18, 1805, *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, III, 106.

100. Richardson, ed., *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, I, 383.

supposedly Gallatin's—scheme, a very modest non-importation plan.¹⁰¹

Never was Jacob Crowninshield more vocal in Congress than during the debate on these resolutions. The Nicholson resolution was absurdly weak, he claimed,¹⁰² and he sharply denounced John Randolph, the Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, for his spineless equivocation. "I am ready to act. . . . I am willing to suspend all intercourse with Great Britain until she gives back the ships she has stolen from us, and the seamen she forcibly detains." He even offered a "project," later rejected by Congress, for non-intercourse with the British West Indies.¹⁰³

Crowninshield took the floor in support of Gregg's resolution on March 5 at the climax of the debate. It was not a question of war, he argued, for faced with the threat of non-importation, Britain would return the stolen property and seamen before the plan ever went into effect. But then Crowninshield lost all restraint. If Britain refused to come to these harsh terms, "I would not hesitate to meet her in war." War would be glorious: the Vermont and Massachusetts militia would overrun Quebec and Nova Scotia, the United States would confiscate a debt, private and public, of \$40,000,000 held by British creditors, and American privateers would make two captures to Britain's one.¹⁰⁴ Bloodthirsty and chauvanistic, the oration held up war rather than commercial restriction as the way for sovereign nations to settle accounts.

The radical pitch of the blustering Crowninshield's views was demonstrated by the bitterness of John Randolph's rejoinder. Never could the hapless United States cope with the British navy, never would he, John Randolph, tolerate French-Canadian colleagues, and never had the carrying trade been anything more than fraud. The Virginian refused to subjugate an agricultural nation to Boston and Salem dominion and refused to go to war with Great Britain—"the only bulwark of the human race against [French] universal dominion." Just "because a man . . . can navigate a cock-boat to the West Indies or the East, shall he aspire to navigate the great vessel of State?" The only arguments

^{101.} *Annals of Congress*, 9th Cong., 1st sess., pp. 414, 450-451; Henry Adams, *op. cit.*, III, 154.

^{102.} *Annals of Congress*, 9th Cong., 1st sess. p. 452.

^{103.} *Ibid.*, p. 411.

^{104.} *Annals of Congress*, 9th Cong., 1st sess., pp. 552-555.

fit for "counting house politicians" of Crowninshield's ilk were a "strait-waist coat, a dark room, water gruel, and depletion."¹⁰⁵

Seven days later, Crowninshield defended himself. A strenuous policy of non-importation, he predicted, would bring Britain to terms. "Her interest is too deeply involved." The carrying trade was a fair trade to which even Virginia's interests were tied. Britain, argued Jacob, threatened American commerce only because she was jealous of her mercantile expansion. And far be it from Crowninshield to shun war on the cowardly grounds of weakness; he personally would fight until "the last drop of blood." If his rights be invaded, then he "would meet France, Spain, or England . . . all collectively if necessary."¹⁰⁶ His two speeches reveal that Crowninshield's view toward commercial restriction was colored by deep hatred of Great Britain.

His attitude was radical, for none of his fellow Jeffersonian Congressmen associated the Non-Importation Act with a British war. Gregg himself had advertised his bill as "mild and moderate, though manly and firm." For Gregg the only consequence Britain would face "if you persist in your hostile measures" would be this: we must slacken those bonds of friendship by which we have been so long connected." "The democracy of Massachusetts," wrote Henry Adams of Crowninshield's saber-rattling, "could not rest content with Gregg's Quaker ideas."¹⁰⁷

Salem opinion, both Federalist and Republican, gave Crowninshield's extremist views a hostile reception. Obviously he was mad, said the *Gazette*; there ought to be assigned "some discreet person to be his guardian"—perhaps the Reverend Mr. Bentley.¹⁰⁸ For the first time, the *Register* that spring studiously avoided any reference to Crowninshield's speeches in Congress. The newspaper could not tolerate Crowninshield's warlike instincts; in March it had noted that "In Congress, to avoid war is the general wish," and in May it reported that "the last session has provided for that prudent hope of successful negotiations [with Eng-

^{105.} *Annals of Congress*, 9th Cong., 1st sess., pp. 556-571.

^{106.} *Ibid.*, pp. 751-760. The moderate Nicholson resolution eventually became law, going into effect on November 15, 1806. Crowninshield demanded an even shorter period of grace. (*Ibid.*, p. 841).

^{107.} Henry Adams, *op. cit.*, III, 156.

^{108.} *Gazette*, April 3, 1806.

land]." ¹⁰⁹ The *Register* even neglected to note Crowninshield's return from Washington, for which the *Gazette* chided it. ¹¹⁰

Crowninshield, in fact, had violated the basic presumption of Jeffersonian ideology on neutrality. The theoretical justification of commercial restriction had pacifist overtones for the orthodox Republican. Questions of neutral rights were decided by the law of nations, "the highest political expression of an age which believed in the perfectibility of human relations through sheer intellect." ¹¹¹ The student of neutral rights was a lawyer familiar with Grotius, Selden, and Vattel and adept in constructing legal and historical precedents. It was the lawyer's persistent effort to square "this right of necessity" with "natural laws." ¹¹² Joseph Story, for example, penned an elegantly phrased critique of the "rule of 1756" as Salem's memorial to Congress in January, 1806. Steeped in legal learning, Story's dispassionate argument posed "this modern doctrine" against the "ancient interpretations of the law." ¹¹³ The law of nations constituted a supra-national code of rules to which nations could appeal to settle disputes in lieu of war. Measures of commercial restriction—non-intercourse, non-importation or embargo—accorded with the law of nations, for these could hopefully be the means to punish a hostile nation into obedience without risking war. Jefferson considered the Embargo to be a "civilized substitute for war," and, according to one of his sympathizers, he "was seeking to lay the foundation of a new system substituting the adjudication of law and reason for the sword." ¹¹⁴

An advocate of Jefferson's policy of commercial restriction,

^{109.} *Register*, March 27, May 5, 1806.

^{110.} *Gazette*, May 2, 1806.

^{111.} L. M. Sears, *Jefferson and the Embargo* (Durham, 1927), p. 32.

^{112.} An example of the legalistic tone of the discussion was the magnificent treatise appearing in the *Register*, April 23 and May 7, 1801.

^{113.} *Annals of Congress*, 9th Cong., 1st sess., pp. 899-907. The memorial was lawyerlike enough to indicate to Bentley that the Republican drafting committee had been unrepresentative of merchant views. (Bentley, *op. cit.*, III, 212).

^{114.} Claude G. Bowers, *Jefferson in Power* (Boston, 1936), pp. 451-452. The law of nations was actually going out of fashion. It had, according to Sears, "acquired as much prestige as it could without the support of its own guns and navies." (*Ibid.*, p. 32). The time had come, said a *Register* observer, when "Wars like earthquakes should shake the Globe, and the peace of all depend upon the will of every nation, that can command a Navy;" no longer was it "an age of reformation." (*Register*, January 29, 1801).

Crowninshield had perverted Jeffersonian theory. While for Jefferson non-importation by itself would make Britain retract, for Crowninshield it constituted a showdown, if necessary, for war. And his speeches show that it was his unmatched hatred for Great Britain that set Jacob apart from his Republican colleagues on the neutrality issue.

He had been temperate enough in January, 1806. "A mild but decisive conduct on our part," he had advised Jefferson, "will be the means of obtaining redress & at the same time will preserve the blessings of peace."¹¹⁵ But two months later, as we have seen, war would hardly satisfy Jacob. His approach to the issue of neutrality was unique because of his special justification for commercial restriction. The rise of problems connected with the family's India trade exerted a great influence on Crowninshield's attitude. Crowninshield's trade, as we shall see, came to collide with British regulations for the commerce of her East Indian possessions. Out of this situation grew Jacob's animosity toward Great Britain which in turn commended the retaliatory Non-Importation Act and the Embargo to his favor.

The East India trade—commerce to any point between the Cape of Good Hope and Manila—had made Salem famous. By 1800 when the Crowninshields initiated vigorous expansion, the brothers had been familiar with the East India trade for a decade. As young men, Ben W., George Jr., Jacob, and Richard had captained many voyages in Derby and Crowninshield vessels.¹¹⁶ Jacob's career was typical. In 1787, aged seventeen, after an unhealthy adolescence, he shipped to the East Indies for the first time. Three years later he captained the ship *Active* to Europe, and the next year at age twenty-one he took charge of the first of four India voyages. Twice he sailed "King" Derby's ship *Henry*, and twice the family's own *America*.¹¹⁷

As the firm's tonnage mushroomed, the Crowninshields put all of their resources into trade beyond the Cape of Good Hope. From 1802 until the end of 1807, twenty-six voyages returned from the

¹¹⁵ Jacob to T. Jefferson, January 30, 1806, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum.

¹¹⁶ James D. Phillips, "East India Voyages of Salem Vessels Before 1800," EIHC, LXXIX (April-December 1943), 117, 222, 331.

¹¹⁷ Biographical data is taken from William Bentley's funeral sermon on the death of Jacob Crowninshield, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum.

East Indies; 1805 was a banner year in which seven vessels returned.¹¹⁸ The family engaged in very few non-East Indian voyages other than the three Santo Domingo cruises of 1804 which we have already described. The brig *Hind*, James Brace, master, shuttled back and forth across the Atlantic in 1803 and 1804 taking India goods to Europe and bringing back specie and European goods for other Crowninshield vessels to take to the Indies. In 1807 she sailed to Martinique. The *America* (in 1806) was sent to the Mediterranean port of Leghorn from whence she returned directly to Salem. Every Crowninshield voyage from 1803 until the Embargo with these exceptions was an East Indian voyage.

The Crowninshields used their competent knowledge of East Indian prices, markets, trade routes, and personalities to offset the risk inherent in pursuing one trade alone. "I want all our forces to be directed to the India trade," wrote Jacob, and a year later, "we are sure of making a fortune if we pursue our East Indian voyages." Richard agreed: "India voyages must be our aim; & *there our Fortune lies.*"¹¹⁹

Most of the town's other merchants traded with the East and West Indies indiscriminately. Many owned a group of larger vessels for the East Indian trade and several smaller ones, often schooners, for the West Indies. While the West Indian trade was vulnerable to the depredations of both British warships and French privateers, only British cruisers were harassing the American merchantman in the Indian Ocean. Just as the *Essex* decision dealt American trade with the French and Spanish colonies in the West Indies a heavy blow, so too British regulations for neutral trade with her East Indian territories determined, in part, the fate of the Crowninshield East Indian trade. British regulations, always harsh, became considerably more strict after 1805. And Crowninshield trade, which had been designed to avoid the full impact of British control, after 1805 by necessity slipped into routes over which England exercised total control. It was when his trade collided with British policy that Jacob's hatred for Great Britain and

118. Shipping data are taken from the Customs House Impost Books, Essex Institute, and from Crowninshield correspondence.

119. Jacob to Richard, February 17, 1804, and Jacob to Richard, January 13, 1805, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum; Richard to John, March 25, 1804, Crowninshield MSS, Essex Institute.

her scheme of regulation intensified. The British regulations we shall examine first and then the change in Crowninshield East Indian trade routes.

Great Britain had defined her regulatory policy for trade with her East Indian possessions in the Thirteenth Article of the Jay Treaty. Although the Thirteenth Article officially became a dead letter in 1803, Jacob Crowninshield had reason to believe that as late as 1806 British officials in the Indies were still enforcing its provisions.¹²⁰ The Thirteenth Article allowed American vessels into British harbors in the East Indies provided that Americans not settle in India, that during the European war rice not be exported from India, and, most important, that goods taken from British East India be carried direct to an American port "where the same shall be unladen."¹²¹

Crowninshield did his best to inform the government of the hardships imposed by the Jay Treaty under which American East Indian commerce labored. On September 1, 1806, he posted to the Secretary of State a special report dealing with every aspect of American commerce which affected Anglo-American relations. He thoroughly described trade with the British West Indies but put special emphasis on the East India trade. The survey was exhaustive with a brief history of American trade with all the ports—Bourbon, Isle de France, Mocha, Bombay, Calcutta, Sumatra, and Manila. The indictment against Great Britain was vigorous.

According to this report, the Thirteenth Article operated against American trade in many ways. It kept Americans out of a potential carrying trade supplying European markets with British East Indian goods. British merchantmen, declared Crowninshield, could not supply England with colonial goods nearly as cheaply as vessels owned by American merchants could. A more serious effect of the requirement for direct homeward voyages was that in practice American vessels could not touch land until they reached the United States. This situation was a burden in many ways. A vessel having once traded with a British colonial port

120. Crowninshield forwarded to Madison a copy of a letter written by an East India Company official in 1805, stating that goods taken from British India still had to go directly to the United States in accordance with the Thirteenth Article. (F. Warden to P. P. Travers, August 6, 1805, a true copy of which letter was given to Crowninshield by John Dodge of Salem, June 25, 1806, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum).

121. *Treaties and Conventions* (Washington, 1873), p. 326.

could not continue in the Indian Ocean coasting trade. She could not use rice from British possessions to purchase coffee or pepper elsewhere. Moreover, homeward-bound American ships were captured by British warships hovering about the French islands Bourbon and Isle de France, which both lay on the path of vessels returning from Batavia, Sumatra, Mocha, and India. Vessels not intending to call at the islands had to pass within two degrees and were frequently stopped. And except for the British-held St. Helena and the Cape of Good Hope, these islands were the only places where vessels could stop for water and repairs.¹²² Thus the Thirteenth Article oppressed American trade with British possessions because it put the European market off limits, affected trade with non-British ports through wanton depredations in its name, and necessitated that specie rather than cheap rice be used to purchase pepper and coffee.

Jefferson's administration was unaware of these burdens. The instructions which Madison sent James Monroe and William Pinckney in May, 1806, as the basis for an Anglo-American treaty announced several ultimata. These pertained to blockade, the right of search, a definition of contraband, and the doctrine of continuous voyage. Only at the very end of the instructions did six lines appear which implied that, if pressed, the United States would again accept the regulation imposed upon her British East India trade by the Thirteenth Article of the old Jay Treaty.¹²³ But several months later, after he had received Crowninshield's report, Madison wrote his negotiators, with respect to the East Indian trade, that "you will find a very useful light thrown upon it in the remarks of _____ of which several copies were forwarded [to you] in October, [1806]."¹²⁴ He could well have been referring to Jacob's report. In any case Madison now endorsed Crowninshield's views, for in the same letter he ordered that nothing be said about the East India trade in the anticipated treaty rather than agree to the Thirteenth Article again.

But to no avail, for Monroe and Pinckney on December 31, 1806, signed a treaty the Third Article of which reproduced the

122. Jacob to J. Madison, September 1, 1806, "Report," Crowninshield MSS., Peabody Museum.

123. Madison to Monroe and Pinckney, May 17, 1806, *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, III, 123.

124. Madison to Monroe and Pinckney, February 3, 1807, *ibid.*, p. 155.

hated Thirteenth Article of the Jay Treaty. And added was the stipulation that American vessels entering British harbors in the East Indies had to be ones "sailing direct from ports of the said states."¹²⁵ This provision, a crushing blow, had been manipulated into the treaty by the East India Company.¹²⁶ The Third Article imposed upon American commerce, already hampered by the Jay Treaty, the additional hardship of being prevented from sailing to the Indies by way of Europe, the best market for old India cargoes and the best source of specie for the next voyage.

Jefferson rejected the proposed British treaty, not even bothering to send it to the Senate. But his rejection did not dissuade Crowninshield from his conviction that British regulations were becoming weapons in a war against America's East India commerce. Britain even captured American ships in the name of this unratified treaty. In June, 1807, the ship *Recovery*, Webb, from Salem to France with a Bombay cargo aboard, was seized on grounds of pursuing an indirect homeward voyage.¹²⁷ The ship *Orient*, Bray, hailing from Marblehead with British East Indian products aboard was taken shortly afterwards and her cargo condemned.¹²⁸ "It is not singular that a question of condemnation should arise upon an article in a treaty evidently not in existence."¹²⁹ A letter written by another East Indian Company official which Jacob sent to Madison demonstrated that the rejected treaty had actually been promulgated in India and was operative.¹³⁰ For Crowninshield both seizures were illegal as being based

125. For the proposed treaty see *ibid.*, p. 148.

126. Monroe and Pinckney to Madison, January 3, 1807, *ibid.*, p. 142. The contention of Lord Holland, the British minister, was that this provision for direct outward voyages had been implicit in the Jay Treaty. In fact, the Act of Parliament of July 19, 1797, implementing the Thirteenth Article, gave the East India Company virtually a free hand in regulating American trade. At the time Rufus King, the American minister, had been unable to clarify the status of outward voyages to India. (*American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, II, 103, 114).

127. *Register*, June 29, 1807.

128. *Ibid.*, August 24, 1807.

129. Jacob to J. Madison, August 18, 1807, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum. See *Register*, August 24, 1807: "For two years our trade has been bleeding at every pore Sometimes the plea is, it is the colonial produce of their enemies And lately our merchants cannot send their ships "to more than one enemies [sic] port," without risking a condemnation. Now they are to be deprived of sending 'East India Goods' to a market in Europe."

130. Reference is made to this letter in Jacob's letter to J. Madison, August 18, 1807.

on either an expired article of the Jay Treaty or an article of a rejected treaty.

Conceive of a situation in which the only available and saleable East India goods were to be found in British India. Add to this the supposition that Europe constituted the only market for India goods and the only source of specie for their purchase in the East. This situation would require a triangular trade route—to Europe, to British India, to an American port, to Europe. The British regulations we have examined would have made this sort of commerce quite illegal. The East India trade of the Crowninshields to which we shall now turn came increasingly to pattern itself on this prototype. In fact, the family's East India project would have died earlier had not the triangular trade existed as a last resort.

The structure of the East India trade as of 1802 was the product of some recent changes. In the 1790's masters of Indiamen had exercised their own discretion in peddling European goods for any likely cargo. Taking as much time as he needed, the captain usually wandered from port to port in the so-called coasting trade.¹³¹ But the Thirteenth Article of the Jay Treaty (which interdicted the coasting trade) conspired with the European war (which increased the risk of capture) to produce a new System. The Crowninshields came to demand of their captains quick outward passage to a single coffee or pepper port and then a quick return. By 1802 orders were strict, voyages were fast, and there was little lay-over back in Salem. "The only way is to keep them going & make money while we have it in our power."¹³²

But after 1802 problems fell upon the firm which necessitated successive readjustments in its East India trade routes. Step by step these problems—the disruption of the Sumatra pepper trade, the specie shortage in the United States, and the collapse of the American coffee market—drove the Crowninshields into the very triangular trade so vulnerable to British regulations.

^{131.} See the vague instructions which Elias Hasket Derby gave Jacob Crowninshield, before his second *Henry* voyage in Morison, *Maritime History of Massachusetts*, pp. 85-88. The captains brought back extraordinarily varied cargoes.

^{132.} Jacob to Richard, January 12, 1804, Crowninshield MSS., Peabody Museum. In 1804, Ben Crowninshield, master of the ship *America*, the third Crowninshield vessel of that name, on her maiden voyage, had to break the strictest of orders when he sailed for coffee instead of pepper which he found scarce and expensive.

"Our *pepper gardens*," Sumatra, remained until 1804 the Crowninshields' home in the Indies.¹³³ The family's *America* and *Belisarius* each returned in 1801 and 1802 from Sumatra crammed with pepper. The next year, three vessels returned with the largest annual importation of pepper the firm ever brought from Sumatra.¹³⁴ Early in 1803 the pepper outlook was good, and even in November Richard had a "better opinion of pepper than of any other article for the next season."¹³⁵ But Jacob, in Washington with access to better sources of information, noted with alarm reports of many vessels returning from Sumatra loaded with pepper; "What will the Americans do with all the pepper?"¹³⁶ He ordered Richard to sell fast and cheap; the market was sure to be flooded.¹³⁷ Above all, the Crowninshields wanted to sell their India goods in America, and the fact that the American market for pepper was disintegrating discouraged them from continuing in the Sumatra pepper trade.

Another consideration kept them from going back to it afterwards. In April, 1804, two East India Company vessels stationed at Fort Marlborough, the English headquarters in Sumatra, attacked Muki, Sumatra's principle pepper port. A few months later they attacked again, levelled the settlement, and built a fort. Thereafter, the British endeavored to exclude Americans.¹³⁸ And when the English drove the natives into hunting and fishing, pepper became scarce, its culture being neglected.¹³⁹ For the Crowninshields the pepper trade had been ruined at both ends.

^{133.} Jacob to Richard, December 13, 1803, Crowninshield MSS., Essex Institute.

^{134.} *Impost Books*, Essex Institute.

^{135.} Richard to John, February 24, 1803, November 13, 1803, Crowninshield MSS., Essex Institute; Jacob anticipated \$50,000 profit from pepper voyages in 1803 (Jacob to Richard, February 18, 1803, Crowninshield MSS., Peabody Museum).

^{136.} Jacob to N. Silsbee, November 27, 1803, Crowninshield MSS., Peabody Museum. Two American vessels visited Sumatra in 1801 (both Crowninshield vessels), twenty-one in 1802, and thirty-one in 1803. [James W. Gould, "Sumatra, America's Pepperpot," EIHC, XCII (April 1956), 130, 132].

^{137.} Jacob to Richard, December 19, 1803, Crowninshield MSS., Peabody Museum.

^{138.} Jacob to N. Silsbee, January 30, 1805, Crowninshield MSS., Peabody Museum; cf. Gould, *loc. cit.*, p. 135.

^{139.} Jacob's "Report" to Madison, September 1, 1806, Crowninshield MSS., Peabody Museum.

From 1804 until after the Embargo only two Crowninshield vessels visited Sumatra.¹⁴⁰

Giving up the pepper trade, the family put all its resources into commerce in coffee from Mocha, Bourbon, and Isle de France. Only one vessel in 1803 and two in 1804 brought East Indian coffee back to India Wharf in Salem. In 1805, however, five Crowninshield vessels returned from either Mocha or Bourbon. And the following year, four vessels entered from Mocha, an independent Red Sea port.¹⁴¹ Throughout 1803 and 1804 coffee was bringing sensationally high prices in both the United States and Europe, and for a while the Crowninshields believed that they had wisely abandoned pepper. Rejoicing pervaded Crowninshield correspondence; "Coffee is now a capital article."¹⁴²

Yet the new venture was shortly beset with difficulties. One was the specie shortage. For her outward cargo the East Indiamen took on specie and ballast. Every voyage required thirty to fifty thousand dollars worth of specie, the commodity which the rajahs of Sumatra were most anxious to take for their pepper, and the natives of Mocha for their coffee.¹⁴³ At Bourbon and Isle de France, other destinations for Crowninshield vessels, the French would accept wine in addition to specie. But by 1803 wines had become scarce, and early in 1804 the French firms supplying the wine went bankrupt.¹⁴⁴ The firm thus had to depend upon specie alone to purchase colonial products throughout the Indies.

The Crowninshields continually bemoaned their lack of specie for India voyages, and Richard, the firm's financier, they persistently harassed. "They depend entirely on your exertions in this business," declared Jacob, and cried his father: "Dick we are now Standing Still & Cannot Move one foott [sic]."
Pity poor

140. *Impost Books*, Essex Institute. The pepper trade was ruined long before the Embargo—alleged by Mr. Phillips to have destroyed it. (Phillips, *Pepper and Pirates*, p. 52).

141. *Impost Books*, Essex Institute.

142. Jacob to Richard, October 17, November 19, 1804, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum. See Jacob to N. Silsbee, December 15, 1803, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum. The coffee boom was contrasted explicitly with pepper scarcity and decline.

143. See Jacob to Richard, January 12, 1804, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum. The Malays, it was reported, would accept only American dollars, no gold or crowns. Also, the rajahs of Sumatra took only Carulus Spanish silver dollars. (Gould, *loc. cit.*, p. 121).

144. Richard to John, November 13, 1803, Crowninshield MSS, Essex Institute.

George Crowninshield when "such is the Scarcity of Money that yesterday we had not one Dollar." This theme—"We always want \$ \$ \$"—ran through Crowninshield correspondence for years.¹⁴⁵ The dollar shortage stemmed not out of poverty but rather out of the problem of converting ample assets in the United States into hard currency. India ventures are "all good voyages when realised," observed Richard, but "it takes a long time to turn them into Cash."¹⁴⁶ The situation of December, 1803, was so crucial that the firm needed \$150,000 in less than three months.¹⁴⁷

The Crowninshields explored every possibility to obtain this specie. Richard sold bills of exchange on the firm's Bordeaux account for dollars at a two or three per cent loss, and "bills on London" were sold at four per cent above par for small sums.¹⁴⁸ Jacob suggested borrowing on the security of future cargoes, and the family tried and failed to sell coffee and pepper on hand.¹⁴⁹ The Santo Domingo venture, already described, was an attempt at solution, in that outward voyages to the island required flour and meat rather than specie. It was only by strenuous efforts for a six-month period that the Crowninshields were able to send off a fleet to the Indies with a full complement of specie.¹⁵⁰

If the American merchant could not obtain hard currency in the United States, he would have to seek it in Europe. Jacob had made the suggestion during the specie crisis of early 1804 that the ship *Concord* ought to make her usual cruise to Sumatra by way of Gibraltar where she could procure silver. The vessels sailed on

^{145.} Jacob to Richard, January 13, 1804, George Sr. to Richard, December 3, 1803, April 28, 1804, all Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum; Richard to John, December 1, 1803, Crowninshield MSS, Essex Institute. According to Gould, to find specie was "the hardest job in fitting out a voyage." (*loc. cit.*, p. 121).

^{146.} Richard to John, October 10, 1803, Crowninshield MSS, Essex Institute.

^{147.} Richard to John, November 13, 1803, Crowninshield MSS, Essex Institute.

^{148.} Richard to John, December 4 and 25, 1803, Crowninshield MSS, Essex Institute.

^{149.} Jacob to Richard, December 6, 1803, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum. The Crowninshields had been recently plagued with slow settlements on previous sales, and the firm's New York pepper could only obtain a smart little schooner and no dollars. (Jacob to Richard, January 23, 1804, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum).

^{150.} The *America* waited at Crowninshield wharf for specie for several months after she had been launched; to look for it Richard in June had to make his second Southern trip of the year. (Jacob to Richard, May 20, 1804, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum).

January 30, 1804, with a meager 12,000 dollars and a full cargo of coffee and pepper for which she received specie at Gibraltar.¹⁵¹ The likelihood of finding hard money in Europe would in the future help to induce the Crowninshields to send all their India voyages out by way of Europe.

Another development contributed to this outcome. By the time the 1805 coffee voyages had arrived, the Crowninshields anticipated and feared a large surplus on the American market. When the American coffee market collapsed, Richard wrote that "the difference betwixt the *best* Europe prices and ours in coffee say 900000 [lbs] expected [from the Indies] is at least 100000\$" and therefore "we should like to send 1 cargo to leg-horn, 1 to Marseilles, & one with gums and coffee to the North of Europe."¹⁵²

Richard's idea provoked a family debate. The question was whether to sell in Europe or store in America. There would have been little insistence on European sales if pepper had still existed as an alternative to coffee. European waters swarmed with British cruisers; "it will be best to follow voyages where there is the least danger."¹⁵³ And the extra four months or more which a European visit on the outward voyage entailed would prevent a vessel's arriving at Mocha and Bourbon during the months when the coffee was being harvested. Every captain tried to arrive when the supply was flush.¹⁵⁴ These arguments, John's in particular, prevailed in 1805, and the Salem warehouse sheltered 500,000 pounds of coffee as of November 1805. Three vessels—two of them significantly not of their own—carried 400,000 pounds of Crowninshield coffee to the European market.¹⁵⁵ But as an experiment, they sent one of their own vessels the ship *America*. Returning from Mocha in July on her maiden voyage, she only touched at Salem, and

^{151.} Jacob to Richard, January 6 and 20, 1804, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum.

^{152.} Richard to John, February 23, 1805, Crowninshield MSS, Essex Institute.

^{153.} John to Richard, April 4, 1805, Crowninshield MSS, Essex Institute.

^{154.} See Ben W. to John, January 8, 1804, Crowninshield MSS, Essex Institute; Jacob to Richard, July 30, 1804, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum. In 1804, the *Belisarius* had had to wait in Bourbon for five months for the July coffee, to Jacob's disgust.

^{155.} Richard to John, October 12, November 5, 1805, Crowninshield MSS, Essex Institute.

carrying coffee to Rotterdam, she netted 140,000 dollars in specie.¹⁵⁶

This success and the amount of coffee already in storage brought acceptance by the end of the year for Richard's scheme of European sales. Little choice remained when the *John* and the *Margaret* in February, 1806, and the *Two Sons* in April arrived loaded with Mocha coffee.¹⁵⁷ Neither the new coffee nor the unsold coffee of 1805 could be sold advantageously in the United States, and coffee was carried to Europe on the outward leg of the India voyages starting out that spring. Six vessels cleared Salem with coffee during the year, three to Leghorn, two to Rotterdam, and one to Marseilles.¹⁵⁸ The Crowninshield East India trade had therefore become a triangular one—Salem, to Europe, to the Indies, to Salem. "I wish we had less property to Europe this season," moaned Jacob, "but the complaint is, it could not be sold advantageously here."¹⁵⁹

Crowninshield trade routes changed in another way. Coffee became extremely scarce at Mocha, and the British navy, which ever since the *Essex* decision had been blockading French possessions, made the coffee of Bourbon and Isle de France inaccessible. "Coffee voyages are done for the present," wrote Richard, for "none to be had at Mocha."¹⁶⁰ Of the six vessels clearing for the Indian Ocean via Europe in 1806, four sailed to Bengal and British India in search of other colonial products. The ship *America*, for example, arrived at Mocha late in December, 1805, and finding coffee scarce and expensive, she left for Calcutta after one week.¹⁶¹ Thus not only were Crowninshield vessels making outward voyages by way of Europe, but after many years, they had also renewed trade with Bengal.

In this manner Crowninshield trade came under the full force of British regulations. The requirement for direct outward voyages contained in the proposed treaty of 1806 and actually practiced

156. Richard to John, November 5, 1805, Crowninshield MSS, Essex Institute.

157. Customs House Impost Books, Essex Institute.

158. The destinations in Europe were determined from Crowninshield correspondence.

159. Jacob to John, May 2, 1806, Crowninshield MSS, Essex Institute.

160. Richard to John, December 7, 1805, Crowninshield MSS, Essex Institute.

161. Putnam, *op. cit.*, IV, 3-6.

by the British made the European side-trips illegal. And other requirements declared illegal the sale in Europe of any colonial products taken from British India. Yet, as we have seen, the American specie shortage and the collapse of the American market necessitated European sales, and the scarcity of pepper and coffee required that Crowninshield vessels go to British India to purchase colonial goods. Jacob's outlook was bleak: "The obligation . . . to go '*direct*' to British India will go far to ruin the American commerce to that Country. . . . the certain effect will be that the country [America] will soon be drained of Specie, the indirect trade by way of Europe etc (more profitable than the direct) supplies us with . . . the exports, particularly of silver, to ports beyond the Cape of G. Hope."¹⁶²

Because there no longer remained any good source in the East Indies for colonial goods except India, these British regulations had the effect of killing the entire Crowninshield East India trade. In fact, not a single Crowninshield vessel cleared for beyond the Cape of Good Hope from October, 1806, until after the end of the Embargo. Jefferson's Embargo could not have destroyed a trade already dead fourteen months before it went into effect.

But British regulations aside, the East India trade was already suffering a great depression. The pepper trade had been lost, coffee no longer could be found, and trade with Bengal promised little return. The *America* had to spend five months in Calcutta in 1806 scraping up an unbelievably varied cargo. The Crowninshields had to sell at auction, and thus at no great profit, all the cotton, indigo, sugar, chintz, and seersucker she brought back. In November she sailed to Leghorn, but returned in 1807 significantly to Salem instead of proceeding to the Indies.¹⁶³ Other events of 1806 augured ill for a successful East India trade. The ship *Two Sons*, loaded with coffee and the veteran of two India voyages since 1803, sank after striking rocks of Nantz in June. This disaster inflicted a loss upon the firm estimated at eighty

¹⁶². Jacob to J. Madison, April 7, 1807, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum.

¹⁶³. Putnam, *op. cit.*, IV, 5. The auction was advertised in the *Register*, September, 29, 1806.

thousand dollars.¹⁶⁴ In October the *Concord*, Richard Ward master, was lost with all hands off Egg Harbor, New Jersey. Although both vessels were insured, the Crowninshields had lost a valuable cargo, two fine vessels, and a minimum, reports Bentley, of one hundred thousand dollars.¹⁶⁵ For many reasons—disasters, depressed trading conditions, and, primarily, British regulations—the Crowninshields were ready to leave the East Indies long before the Embargo forced them to do so.

Crowninshield's sense of despair over the Indies trade appeared in March, 1806, when in Congress he prayed for a complete non-importation of British colonial products to go into effect in July. Jacob pinned the blame for his East Indian difficulties on Great Britain, and it is this animosity toward that country which accounts for Jacob's approval in Congress of retaliatory measures—the Non-importation Act and, later, the Embargo.

Ultimately, Crowninshield viewed the American struggle with England to have at issue commercial supremacy rather than the protection of neutral rights. In his opinion Britain interfered with American trade for reasons other than the strategical consideration of starving the French-dominated European Continent. She persisted in harassing American commerce because she was determined to crush a trading rival, the upstart United States. Jacob knew this from his own commercial and Congressional experience. "The Measures of Great Britain" are, he proclaimed, ". . . founded on a system of policy hostile to our growing commercial greatness."¹⁶⁶ "As to England," he wrote, "she wants to reduce us to the situation of Colonies. She w^d confine us, if she could, to the carriage of our own native productions."¹⁶⁷ British lighthouse duties, her countervailing impost duties, and her exclusion of Americans from the British West Indies were other manifestations for Jacob of Britains commercial jealousy.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁴. Richard to John, July 13, 1806, Crowninshield MSS, Essex Institute; *Gazette*, July 15, 1806.

¹⁶⁵. Bentley, *op. cit.*, III, 257.

¹⁶⁶. *Annals of Congress*, 9th Cong., 2nd sess., p. 155.

¹⁶⁷. Jacob to W. Bentley, Dec. 14, 1805, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum.

¹⁶⁸. To Jefferson, Jacob explained that the difference every year between British and American tonnage duties was two million dollars in favor of Britain (Jacob to T. Jefferson, June 21, 1806, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum). And the United States rather than Eastern Canada was

The establishment of a system of free trade with Great Britain for Crowninshield was a more important goal of American policy than the protection of neutral rights. All commercial restrictions along national lines should be abolished, for Britain along with France has "violated our just and neutral rights to a free trade."¹⁶⁹ Although in outward appearances Crowninshield with the rest of the Jeffersonians was upholding the traditional, rather abstract rights of a neutral, at heart he was contending for an American victory in her commercial rivalry with England.

When the British frigate *Leopard* attacked the *Chesapeake* in June, 1807, the nation rose up in a warlike pitch of excitement. This outrage served only to aggravate Crowninshield's predilection for a British war. He demanded that treaty negotiations be suspended at once.¹⁷⁰ The British Order in Council of November 11, 1807 interdicting all American trade with the European Continent intensified public excitement. Crowninshield considered this as *casus belli*.

While Jefferson was viewing the Embargo as "peaceable coercion," his fellow Republican considered it to be a prelude to war. Three weeks previous to the passage of the Embargo "he [Crowninshield] thought they were almost at war." Great Britain was conspiring with the Indians on the Northwest frontier, her vessels were arming on the Great Lakes, and the Canadian militia had been mobilized. We ought to "be prepared to meet the event," for the country was "on the eve of war."¹⁷¹ It was in this pugnacious frame of mind that Jacob argued and voted for the Embargo.

Crowninshield's reason for supporting the Non-Importation Act and the Embargo had not, therefore, been unconnected with his own interests. He had seen his East Indian commerce forced into an undesirable channel. He had also seen British policies destroy the one part of the East India trade which remained open to his firm. Britain had declared war on American commerce in general and his own in particular. The feeling of bitterness

the source of meat, lumber, and fish for the British West Indies ordained by nature. (Jacob to J. Madison, September 1, 1806, "Report," Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum).

^{169.} Jacob to T. Jefferson, July 14, 1804, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum.

^{170.} Jacob to J. Madison, August 18, 1807, Crowninshield MSS, Peabody Museum.

^{171.} *Annals of Congress*, 10th Cong., 1st sess., pp. 956-966, 979.

which overwhelmed him conditioned Crowninshield for radical remedies. In response to his prejudices Jacob supported two key measures for commercial restriction and viewed each as a showdown for an inevitable war. But this war would have been a special one, a struggle for mastery of the world's commerce.

American overseas trade sprang to life again after the Embargo was repealed in March, 1809. Salem merchants once more ventured upon the Indian Ocean. But the Crowninshields never revived their old East India trade; only one family vessel, the *Fame*, sailed beyond the Cape of Good Hope after trade was resumed.¹⁷² In haphazard fashion they experimented with a variety of ventures to many European ports, and in desperation the Crowninshields even sent the *Telemachus* to Archangel. The firm dissolved in June, 1809, with Richard and John each becoming independent operators. The two Georges and Benjamin W. remained together and sustained a reduced commerce.¹⁷³

Jacob Crowninshield did not live to realize that the East India trade, which he saw crumbling, would never revive after the Embargo. He had left Washington in December, 1806, because of the illness of his wife. Sally Gardner Crowninshield died on May 18, 1807, and when Jacob returned to Washington that fall, he was a dying man himself.

In an oration during the debate on the Embargo in December, Jacob Crowninshield "raised blood," and when stricken again in Congress a week later, he abandoned public duties. John and Benjamin W. Crowninshield arrived in Washington in February to find their brother failing rapidly. He died of consumption on April 15, 1808, at the young age of thirty-eight.

Congress could adjourn and wear mourning in his honor, and the *National Intelligencer* could eulogize his public services, but not so Salem.¹⁷⁴ The town was all business, with the contingencies of practical politics to be considered. Crowninshield's Federalist brother-in-law, John Gardner, with whom he had long been unfriendly, claimed the sole privilege of writing his eulogy in the *Register*. But the piece he submitted had such "glaring defects"—

¹⁷² J. H. Reinoehle, "Post-Embargo Trade and Merchant Prosperity: Experiences of the Crowninshield Family," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLII (September, 1955), 233.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 231.

¹⁷⁴ *National Intelligencer*, April 18, 1808.

allegedly through design—that it was never printed. "The hand of an enemy" had prevented any notice in the Salem press of Crowninshield's death.¹⁷⁵ Bentley's funeral sermon was not suffered to be heard undisturbed. Timothy Pickering's nephew stomped into East Church and proceeded vigorously to insult the assembled Republican mourners.¹⁷⁶ But then all this was probably the way Jacob would have wanted it.

That was the way it had always been; for years the Crowninshields had been waging bitter party battle, strife which invariably rested on issues connected with their own commercial growth. For the course of Crowninshield politics followed the development of the family's commercial expansion. The introduction of political heresy into a Federalist hot-bed brought about the first local political skirmishes. The rise of the family to local political supremacy and social leadership had occurred despite the bitter opposition of the established elements. And his own commercial interests had served to the end as a guide for Crowninshield's Congressional activities.

175. Bentley, *op. cit.*, III, 355.

176. *Ibid.*, III, 356.

BEVERLY'S SEACOAST DEFENSES DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

By GEORGE A. BILLIAS*

"HISTORY HAS NOT BEEN KIND TO BEVERLY," Morison once remarked. "After teaching Boston how to bake beans, the metropolis usurped the credit. After showing Salem how to fish and privateer, the larger port absorbed her neighbor in 1789 as a place of entry and registry."¹ Historians have been equally unkind to Beverly; most of them have withheld the recognition it surely deserves as one of the most prominent ports along the entire eastern seaboard during the first two years of the Revolutionary War.² Beverly's harbor became the spawning ground for most of Washington's fleet, served as one of the bases of operations for this naval force, and provided a lair for a large number of privateers which sailed forth to prey upon enemy ships. Nothing serves better to illustrate the strategic significance of the town than the vigorous measures taken to provide the seacoast defense for Beverly during the early years of the war.

With a population of three thousand in the 1770's, a fishing fleet of some thirty-five vessels manned by more than three hundred men, and a deeply-rooted Whig sentiment, Beverly was prepared to make an important contribution to the patriot cause.³ To these assets could be added her sheltered, convenient, and relatively deep harbor with its intricate channel. This harbor became increasingly useful after the major Massachusetts port, Boston, was closed by the British in June, 1774.⁴

Commerical importance gave way to military prominence with the outbreak of war and the formation of Washington's fleet. At the time Washington assumed command of the army in Cam-

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1. Samuel E. Morison, *Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783-1860* (Boston, 1921), p. 141.

2. Exceptions to the above statement are Octavius T. Howe, "Beverly Privateers in the American Revolution," *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, XXIV, 318-435; and Charles Woodberry, *Independence Park, Beverly, Massachusetts* (Beverly, 1906).

3. Howe, *op. cit.*, pp. 318-320.

4. Kenneth W. Porter, *The Jacksons and the Lees* (Cambridge, 1937), I, 395.

bridge, Congress had taken no steps to set up a navy. There was a crying need for one, however. British troops bottled up inside besieged Boston were unable to procure food, fodder, or fuel from the countryside, and so they were forced to rely upon supplies brought in by sea. Transports filled with valuable munitions and provisions began to stream into Boston harbor along supply lines stretching back to Nova Scotia, the West Indies, and England. So confident were the British of their absolute command of the sea that these store ships came unarmed and unaccompanied by any military escort. Such cockiness presented the patriots with a double opportunity: to disrupt the British supply lines, and to build up the slender store of American ammunition at the expense of the enemy. The shortage of powder in the patriot army was critical at the time, and Washington pointedly remarked, ". . . a fortunate Capture of an *Ordinance [sic]* Ship would give new Life to the Camp and an immediate turn to the Issue of this Campaign."⁵ The general decided to create a fleet of his own in late summer of 1775 to prey upon enemy supply ships, and Beverly became the major port for fitting out his craft.

To equip and man some of his vessels, Washington turned to one of the officers in his army best qualified to handle this task, Colonel John Glover, commander of the Marblehead regiment. Before entering military life, Glover had had a varied career as a cordwainer, ship-owning merchant, and investor in the fisheries.⁶ Although a Marblehead resident, Glover had purchased a wharf, warehouse, and cooper's shop in Beverly in 1774, from which he carried on his business in the fisheries. It was this short, stocky Marbleheader who made available to Washington the fleet's first craft, the *Hannah*; it was at Glover's wharf at Beverly that this peaceful trading schooner was converted into an armed warship; and when she sailed on her first cruise, the vessel was commanded and manned by Marbleheaders drawn from Glover's regiment.⁷

5. Washington to the President of Congress, Oct. 12, 1775, in John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of George Washington* (Washington, 1931-44), IV, 24; hereinafter, *Washington's Writings*.

6. Cf. the author's article "Of Ships, Shoes and Sealing Wax: The Early Career of John Glover," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, XCII (October 1956), pp. 376-387.

7. Ownership of the *Hannah* at the time she was chartered for service in Washington's fleet is open to question. She was originally owned by Jonathan Glover, John's brother, see Certificate for landing goods at Barbados, Nov. 1772, Crocker Papers, XV, 28, in private possession of U.

After the *Hannah* sailed from Beverly on September 5, 1775, the port was used for outfitting additional vessels for Washington's fleet. Working with Stephen Moylan, Mustermaster General of the Army, and Joseph Reed, military secretary to Washington, Glover assisted in the build-up of this naval force. On the morning of October 22, two vessels, the *Hancock* and the *Franklin*, pulled away from the Beverly piers and began their voyage to northern waters in search of two British powder brigs.⁸ Before the end of October, two more craft, the *Lee* and the *Warren*, cruised out of the harbor in search of enemy supply ships.⁹ The port of Plymouth on Cape Cod was also used to outfit a pair of ships during October, but by far the majority of vessels for Washington's fleet were sent forth from the Essex County port.

Beverly became important for still another reason as Washington's small but active naval force began to have some success. The commander-in-chief had ordered his naval captains to make for the safest port near Boston if they succeeded in capturing a cargo, and more often than not they brought their prizes into Beverly. By January, 1776, there were ten enemy prizes riding at anchor in the harbor alongside thirty-one schooners, ten merchant vessels and three sloops belonging to local inhabitants.¹⁰ A naval base of such significance was bound to attract the attention of the British, and it was a foregone conclusion that the port needed some defenses. Appropriately enough, much of the burden for fortifying

Haskell Crocker, Manchester, Mass. But she probably belonged to John Glover when she was chartered in August, 1775. Ashley Bowen, the Marblehead sailmaker, noted that the ship being readied for the cruise was "colonel Glover'sl Schooner," and when the *Hannah* was leased to the army the ledger entry was carried ". . . in Acct Currant with John Glover." See Ashley Bowen Diary, Aug. 22, 1775, in Essex Institute; Ashley Bowen Day Book, Sept. 5, 1775, in Marblehead His. Soc; and Colony Ledger, 10, item 729½, Marblehead His. Soc.

8. Historians have been misled as to the identity of one of these vessels by the mistaken references made by Washington and Reed in their correspondence. Both men persisted in calling the craft that was actually the *Hancock*, the *Lynch*. For proof that she was the *Hancock*, see Receipt to Thomas Grant for Hire of Vessel Hancock, Record of Armed Vessels, 1775-1776, I, item 5488, Beverly His. Soc. For the departure of the vessel see Moylan and Glover to Reed, Oct. 21, 1775, *American Archives*, 4th Series, III, 1134. The date is incorrect, however, and the two schooners actually sailed on the morning of October 22.

9. Moylan and Glover to Reed, Oct. 21, 1775, *American Archives*, 4th Series, III, 1134; Moylan to Reed, Oct. 27, 1775, *ibid.*, p. 1208; and Moylan and Glover to Reed, Oct. 28, 1775, *ibid.*, p. 1246.

10. Woodberry, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

Beverly fell upon the shoulders of the man who had been instrumental in putting the town on the map, militarily speaking, Colonel John Glover.

Beverly had already taken some steps to defend itself even prior to the formation of Washington's fleet. In June, 1775, Massachusetts had ordered all seaboard counties to coordinate a joint defense plan to muster men along the coast to repel any invasion. Essex County was authorized to raise ten companies of fifty men each, and a joint committee was appointed to determine where these troops might be stationed to best advantage. Glover was immediately named to this county committee, undoubtedly because of his familiarity with the area and his position as leader of the Marblehead regiment.¹¹

Moses Brown, Harvard graduate and an enthusiastic patriot, was named by the committee to muster a company for Beverly's seacoast defense. By mid-July, Brown had raised a unit filled with Woodberrys, Obers, Fosters, and other families of Revolutionary War fame, to serve until the close of the year.¹² No steps were taken to provide coastal artillery or local fortifications, however, and Brown's men with their mere muskets would have been little protection against a British fleet in the event of an attack.

The Salem Committee of Safety recommended to its neighbor in late August that two cannon be mounted on Woodberry's Point opposite the Salem fort to prepare a coordinated defense for Beverly harbor. The Beverly town fathers procrastinated on this proposal and voted to discuss it at a later date. They concluded that Beverly had "no ammunition to use said Cannon with, Provided we stode in need thereof."¹³

That "need" was demonstrated two months later when a British war vessel penetrated into the heart of Beverly harbor. On October 10, 1775, the *Nautilus*, an enemy sloop of war, chased the *Hannah*, the first of Washington's vessels, into a small cove just outside the town harbor.¹⁴ The *Hannah* ran aground, and towns-

11. William Lincoln, ed., *Journals of Each Provincial Congress* (Boston, 1838), p. 452.

12. Woodberry, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12.

13. Beverly Town Records, Aug. 25, 1775, in Beverly City Hall.

14. *New England Chronicle*, Oct. 12, 1775; and "Extracts from the Interleaved Almanacs of William Wetmore of Salem," E.I.H.C., XLIII (April 1907), 117-118. In the accounts given of this episode the American vessel was identified only as a "Beverly privateer," but there is no doubt it was the *Hannah*. The identification is clear from Glover's com-

people boarded the schooner and stripped her of her swivel guns and cannon to prevent their seizure by the *Nautilus*, which had closed in for the kill. Fortunately, the British craft also ran aground. For four hours, a hot battle waged between the trapped *Nautilus* and the local patriots. From the Beverly side of the harbor, the cannon taken off the *Hannah* were brought into play, and Brown's men opened up with a fusillade of muskets. From the opposite side, hot shot from the Salem shore defenses peppered the British vessel. After twenty shots had riddled her "Hammacoës and Hull," the *Nautilus* floated free and made her getaway.¹⁵ In part, her escape was made possible because enough firepower could not be brought to bear upon her from the Beverly side of the harbor. The object lesson of the *Nautilus* attack did not go unheeded; the day after her appearance in the harbor the Beverly town fathers voted to build the breastworks.¹⁶

The first fortification, laid out in the form of a seven-gun embrasure, was erected at Woodberry's Point and completed in early November.¹⁷ This breastwork when finished was under-gunned, however, and its two six pounders would not have deterred a determined attacker. Why, then, did not the British invade the harbor and destroy the vessels in Washington's fleet that were operating out of Beverly at the time? Part of the answer to this question was revealed in a letter by General Howe to the English authorities:

The Admiral [is] of the opinion that the ships cannot block up the several ports of Cape Ann, Beverly, Marblehead and Plymouth, which afford protection to these pirates without

ment in a letter that Nicholson Broughton, the *Hannah*'s captain, had caught a cold when his vessel ran aground. (Glover to Washington, Oct. 15, 1775, *American Archives*, 4th Series, III, 1068). Moreover, at that date no other craft in Washington's fleet had sailed, and there were no privateers working out of Beverly at the time according to Howe, *op. cit.*, p. 336. The credit for identifying the *Hannah* as the "Beverly privateer" belongs to William Bell Clark, who made this information known to the author.

15. Captain's Log, H. M. S. *Nautilus*, British Admiralty Papers, Class 51, No. 629, Public Records Office, London; and Allen French, *First Year of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1934), p. 540.

16. Beverly Town Records, Oct. 12, 1775, Beverly City Hall.

17. *Ibid.*, Nov. 2, 1775. At the time Beverly went so far as to discuss the feasibility of stopping up its harbor by scuttling ships at the entrance, but such an extreme measure was rejected.

the assistance of a land force which cannot at present be spared.¹⁸

Beverly's inhabitants lived in dread of the day when British troops might be spared or other conditions change to enable the enemy to attack the town. The burning of Falmouth in October, 1775, barely one hundred miles away was still fresh in the minds of local patriots. When three British men-of-war appeared off the harbor in December, therefore, the town's Committee of Correspondence immediately petitioned Washington for more powder and cannon. The inhabitants were well aware that the presence of Washington's fleet made Beverly a likely target for a British attack:

. . . Continental privateers, and others, make this harbour their place of rendezvous, and have of late brought into this harbour a number of valuable prizes, which we think are much exposed to the enemy, as also the town in general.¹⁹

William Bartlett, prize agent for Washington's fleet in the Beverly area, seconded these arguments:

Those valuable prizes, brought in here, are much exposed . . . as we have nothing to defend them with . . . Our forts and breastworks, built at the town's expense, would not only protect the prizes, but the town, if we had guns and ammunition to put in them.²⁰

Washington's response was generous. He told Bartlett to grant to the Beverly Committee of Correspondence any cannon on hand not absolutely necessary for fitting out more armed vessels. Powder was still hard to come by, however. The best the commander-in-chief could do was to authorize Bartlett to release to the Beverly defenders all the powder on board the captured vessels in the harbor in the event of an attack.²¹

Just as the problem of armaments took a turn for the better, the manpower situation was about to take a turn for the worse. Moses Brown's company had signed to man Beverly's seacoast de-

18. Howe to Earl of Dartmouth, Dec. 13, 1775, *American Archives, 4th Series*, IV, 256-57.

19. Petition of Beverly Committee of Correspondence to Washington, Dec. 11, 1775, *ibid.*, p. 236-237.

20. Bartlett to Washington, Dec. 11, 1775, *ibid.*, p. 236-237.

21. Moylan to Bartlett, Dec. 13, 1775, *ibid.*, p. 284.

fenses only to the end of the year. When their time was up they were to be discharged and the fortifications would be deserted.²²

Up to this time, Washington had not been in the practice of detaching troops from the main army to defend coastal towns from enemy attack. To have done so would have meant a piece-meal commitment of his already small army. Congress agreed with the commander-in-chief and formulated a clear policy of national defense during the early months of the war: each colony was to provide local forces for local defenses.

But Beverly was so important to the patriot cause that Washington made an exception to this rule. He detached Glover's regiment from the main army to defend the town. Thus Beverly had the distinction of being the only town in Massachusetts outside of the Boston area to receive protection from Continental troops after the main army marched off to New York in the spring.²³ Glover's regiment was first sent to Marblehead on December 13 because word had been received that the three British war vessels were standing off that harbor.²⁴ A few days later, the troops were transferred to Beverly.²⁵ Here the regiment was to remain for a tour of duty that lasted almost seven months.

Glover was mainly responsible for the rapid build-up of Beverly's seacoast defenses after the turn of the year. He is credited for planning the fort at the entrance to Beverly harbor which was designed to ward off any British attempt to seize either Washington's fleet or any of its prizes.²⁶ This fortification was built in February, 1776, on an arm of land known as Tuck's Point, which jutted out to sea just in front of the wharves that lined Beverly's

22. In November, Beverly had authorized its Committee of Correspondence to ". . . appoint a Captain to their Fort or Brestwork at Woodberry's Head and other Necessary Officers and men to Exercise the Cannon in said Fort and to Pay them a reasonable Sum for their Service and also to Inlist a Number of men to make 40 in the whole to repair [to] the fort as their alarm post in Case of alarm . . ." (Beverly Town Records, Nov. 6, 1775, Beverly City Hall). Whether this measure was ever implemented or not cannot be determined.

23. Washington to General Charles Lee, May 1, 1776, *Washington's Writings*, V, 2.

24. William Heath, *Memoirs of the American War* (New York, 1904), p. 40; and *New England Chronicle*, Dec. 7-14, 1775.

25. Bartlett to Washington, Dec. 20, 1775, *American Archives*, 4th Series, IV, 367; and Moylan to Bartlett, Dec. 25, 1775, *ibid.*, pp. 458-459.

26. Woodberry, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

shore.²⁷ Built as a sand bank battery and laid out in five embrasures, the fort was armed with two six-pound field pieces.²⁸ These cannon were procured from Marblehead and apparently Glover used his influence in his home town to have the guns loaned to Beverly.²⁹

When Beverly expanded her fortifications still further in March, the Committee of Safety was ordered ". . . to waight on Col Glover to se[e] if he will Build sum Brest Works on West Beach and other Places in Town if Necessary . . ."³⁰ Probably Glover directed the erection of these additional defenses, and his regiment may have supplied some of the manpower for construction. At any rate, five separate forts were guarding Beverly's harbor by mid-1776.

Despite Glover's efforts, these defenses were far from satisfactory. A committee of the Provincial Congress inspecting the breastworks in June gave the impression that the fortifications still left much to be desired:

. . . At Beverly they have erected a Sand Bank Battery laid out in Five Ambozears in which they have two borrowed field Pieces. This Battery appeared to the Committee of no great importance. The Situation of a Seven Gun Battery, nearly opposite Salem Fort, in Woodberry's Point and a four Gun Battery erecting on Thorndicks Point together with a five gun Battery erected at Barnetts Point and a three Gun Battery at West Beach are of such a nature as to demand the immediate attention for the Preservation & Security of the Sea Coast.³¹

Fortunately, Glover's Fourteenth Continental Regiment sent to defend Beverly was one of the crack units in the Continental army, and it may well be that its presence saved Beverly from any marauding expedition planned by the British.³² Led by its short,

27. Beverly Town Records, Feb. 6, 1776, Beverly City Hall.

28. Report of Committee to View Seacoast Defenses, June, 1776, Massachusetts Archives, CXXXVII, 93-95, State House, Boston.

29. Beverly Town Records, Feb. 9, 1776, Beverly City Hall.

30. *Ibid.*, Mar. 11, 1776.

31. Report of Committee to View Seacoast Defenses June, 1776, Massachusetts Archives, CXXXVII, 93-95, State House, Boston.

32. To be more accurate, Glover's regiment was designated as the Twenty-first Regiment at the time it was assigned to Beverly in mid-December. However, at the turn of the year the unit was reorganized and redesignated as the Fourteenth Continental.

bustling commander, the regiment was destined to see more than its share of important engagements and to gain distinction by its gallant conduct at Long Island, Kip's Bay, Pelham Bay, and Trenton. Besides its splendid battle record, the unit had one other outstanding characteristic: it was composed of seafaring men from Marblehead and other Essex County towns.³³ Washington was quick to capitalize upon the unique talents of these soldiering sailors in three ways. When he sent out his little fleet from Beverly he detailed men from Glover's regiment to serve aboard three of the vessels. Later in the war, the commander-in-chief employed the sea-going skills of the Fourteenth to conduct amphibious operations at Long Island and Trenton. The third mission associated with the sea performed by Glover's unit was the guard duty it performed in Beverly Harbor.

Manning the Beverly defenses may not have been as exciting as some of the other military exploits of Glover's regiment, but it served an important purpose. The nature of the unit's mission was best characterized by the passwords once used at Beverly: "Look-out, Sharp."³⁴ A main guard was stationed at the fort on Tuck's Point and sentries were posted to challenge all craft entering or leaving the harbor. The fortification at Woodberry's Point also was manned, and a third guard detail stood watch over the ship moored at Bartlett's wharf that probably contained captured cargoes.³⁵

During the regiment's tour of duty, Beverly's seacoast defenses never underwent trial by fire, but the inactivity did not cause the unit to go stale. Indeed, quite the opposite was true, and Glover seized this opportunity to launch an intensified training program to whip his outfit into a disciplined fighting force. Having recruited a number of new men in January to join his recently redesignated regiment, Glover proceeded to transform his rookies into regulars.

Though many of the men were within walking distance of their

33. Glover's Fourteenth Continental is inaccurately referred to as the Marblehead regiment in most military histories. This label is a misnomer in that it ignores at least one entire company that hailed from Beverly, to say nothing of individual soldiers who came from Lynn, Danvers and Salem. The majority of the men, however, did come from Marblehead.

34. Moses Brown Orderly Book, Feb. 1, 1776, Beverly Historical Society; hereinafter, Brown's O.B.

35. *Ibid.*, Jan. 15, 1776.

families, wives, and sweethearts in Marblehead and surrounding communities, no one was allowed to leave camp without permission. This rule was strictly enforced, and attendance was checked at the regimental reviews conducted each morning and afternoon.³⁶ Absentees were severely punished. One soldier on his first offense was placed on a diet of bread and water; another, caught for the second time, was given ten lashes on the bare back in the presence of the entire regiment.³⁷

Strict discipline was also enforced by resorting to the age-old military method of spit and polish. Muskets and other arms were inspected regularly by company commanders. Living quarters were examined three times a week to ascertain if good sanitary conditions were being maintained. The men themselves were warned to be neat and clean at all times; shaving once a week was mandatory, and the soldiers were lectured that their "Health and Reputation much depend[ed] on this."³⁸

To encourage his men to learn "the Art Military," Glover played upon their competitive instincts. Twenty-five new guns and bayonets, ammunition, and pouches were awarded as prizes to outstanding soldiers.³⁹ One man receiving his prize promptly put his bayonet to work by stabbing at a dog, but when brought to trial the court was somewhat lenient, ". . . as the Prisoner had received some Injury from the Dog a few hours before . . . [and this] in some measure alleviates the Crime."⁴⁰

If Glover irritated his men by insisting on nagging details in order to maintain discipline, he must have won their hearts by a comparable exactitude in looking out for their welfare. Barracks were constructed at what is now Queen Park, and other quarters were rented to protect the troops from the snow and cold.⁴¹ A glance at the rations list indicates that the men ate heartily, and that soldiers on isolated guard posts were fed hot meals.⁴² Nor was it only his soldiers' physical well-being that concerned Glover;

36. *Ibid.*

37. *Ibid.*, Mar. 21 and May 22, 1776.

38. *Ibid.*, Jan. 25, 1776.

39. *Ibid.*, Feb. 1, 1776.

40. *Ibid.*, Feb. 18, 1776.

41. Revolutionary Military MSS, Vol. I, item 5129, Beverly Historical Society.

42. *Ibid.*, item 5144; and Brown's O.B., Mar. 2, 1776, Beverly Historical Society.

the men in the regiment were "ordered and directed" to attend religious services.

The regiment's tour of duty at Beverly ended when the unit marched off to rejoin the main army on July 20, 1776.⁴³ By this time the scene of war had shifted to New York, where the Continental army was busily preparing its defenses on Long Island and Manhattan. As a result the British fleet left New England waters, removing for the time being the threat of an attack against Beverly. From then until the close of the war, the town was to be protected by local or state troops, not by forces of the Continental army.

News that the Glover regiment was leaving spurred the selectmen of Beverly to petition the Provincial Council for more protection. Responding to their pleas, the Council ordered Colonel Henry Herrick, colonel of the Eighth Essex County regiment of the Massachusetts militia, to detail not more than sixty men to man Beverly's batteries.⁴⁴ Herrick ordered his Sixth company commanded by Captain Joseph Rea to march into the lines the very day that Glover's regiment pulled out.⁴⁵

The Essex County militia provided protection for barely three months. In late October, the Provincial Council reversed its decision and ordered Captain Rea and his men discharged from this duty.⁴⁶ Beverly was forced to call upon her citizens to defend herself for nearly a month. Two dozen civilians were appointed by the town officials to man the fortifications at night.⁴⁷

Meanwhile, the selectmen resorted to the pen rather than the sword to defend their town and sent another plea for military assistance to the state authorities. Describing the dire need for protection, their petition read in part:

. . . we are left destitute of men, and in a most unhappy

43. Ward to Washington, Jul. 22, 1776, *American Archives*, 5th Series, I, 514-515.

44. Petition of the Selectmen of the Town of Beverly to Council of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, Jul. 18, 1776, cited in Woodberry, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26

45. Avery to Herrick, Jul. 20, 1776, cited in Woodberry, *op. cit.*, p. 27; and *Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War* (Boston, 1900), VII, 759.

46. Avery to Herrick, [Oct. 25, 1776], *American Archives*, 5th Series, III, 410.

47. List of Men Appointed by the Selectmen of Beverly Nov. 1-25, 1776, cited in Woodberry, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

situation, extending six miles on the seacoast [which is] very convenient for landing troops . . . by far the greatest part of able-bodied men belonging to this town [are] in the publick service or gone to sea, by which means we are reduced to a defenseless state.⁴⁸

Once again the Massachusetts Council was sympathetic and authorized the raising of a small, local force. Lieutenant Joseph Wood, a member of the Beverly Committee of Safety and Correspondence was ordered to enlist twenty-five soldiers to guard the town until further notice. In November, Wood marched his tiny band including two "Sargeants," two "Coperels," and twenty privates into Beverly's breastworks.⁴⁹

Patriotism rather than the desire for profit must have motivated most men to volunteer for this duty because the remuneration was small. Privates received only thirty-six shillings a month, corporals forty shillings, sergeants forty-four shillings, and Lieutenant Wood three pounds twelve shillings. In addition, the town selectmen were to provide rations for the officers and men not exceeding five shillings a man per week.⁵⁰

The trend toward a progressively smaller garrison for Beverly continued throughout the war. In December, 1777, the Provincial Council voted to reduce the force to fourteen men including one lieutenant, one sergeant, one gunner and eleven matrosses. By October, 1780, the Beverly guard had shrunk to one corporal and three matrosses, and this token force continued to serve until the close of hostilities.⁵¹

Beverly's defenses were stripped of arms as well as men. During 1776, the breastworks had been bolstered by the arrival of more powerful artillery. In June, one eighteen pounder and two nine pounders were hauled from Framingham to be mounted in the Beverly batteries.⁵² Later in the fall, three more nine pounders and some shot were sent from Charlestown.⁵³ However, as the war progressed and cannon became more scarce, the state command-

48. Petition of the Selectmen of the Town of Beverly, Nov. 16, 1776, *American Archives*, 5th Series, III, 415.

49. Wood to Council of the State of Massachusetts, Nov. 25, 1776, cited in Woodberry, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

50. Howe, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

51. *Ibid.*

52. Beverly Town Records, June. 21, 1776, Beverly City Hall.

53. *Ibid.*, Sep. 30, 1776.

deered some of Beverly's cannon. In the autumn of 1779, Massachusetts took possession of one of the eighteen pounders at Beverly. When additional naval armament was needed for the new state vessel, the *Protector*, in February, 1780, Beverly was forced to give up two more nine pounders.⁵⁴

Paradoxically, it was during these later years when Beverly was thinly defended that the town made what was perhaps its most vital contribution to the American cause. Beginning in 1776, Beverly became one of the most active privateering ports along the Atlantic seaboard. Octavius T. Howe, who has written the most definitive work on Beverly privateers, has estimated that seventy such vessels sailed from the port, sixty of which were owned or controlled by the inhabitants of the town.⁵⁵ Beverly seamen, along with other patriot privateers, ranged the high seas almost at will up to 1779 and carried the war to the enemy. They succeeded in throwing a fright into English shipowners by their forays, forced up British insurance rates, and seriously disrupted the enemy's trade in European and American waters. As they preyed upon enemy supply ships, numerous military stores fell into the hands of the patriots, and many a musket bound for British soldiers in America wound up instead in the hands of Washington's infantrymen.

We may conclude, then, why it was that Beverly's seacoast defenses went unmanned during most of the war. So much of Beverly's manpower was committed to offensive operations on the sea that few men remained behind for defensive operations on land. This conclusion is bolstered by the fact that nearly two-thirds of Beverly's men between the ages of eighteen and sixty were taken prisoners from privateering vessels.⁵⁶ By taking a calculated risk in leaving herself virtually unprotected after 1776, Beverly was able to send forth a surprisingly large number of privateers and to set a shining naval record that ranks high in the annals of the American Revolution.

54. Howe, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 420.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 405.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE GARDEN PROJECT OF THE FIRST CHURCH SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS

1955-1956-1957

By ELIZABETH B. FREEMAN

ILL INDEED IS THE WIND that blows no good. Among the countless trees blown down by Hurricane Carol at the forenoon height of her fury, on August 31st, 1954, there was one fortunate casualty. This was a great catalpa tree, which stood at the edge of the driveway to the east of the First Church. Blowing violently from the southwest, the storm hit the east side of the Church with such force that it was deflected 90 degrees, and hurled the catalpa northeasterly into the ancient garden beyond. Luck was with that fall. An expert woodsman could not have laid that tree more carefully between the beautiful and historic azaleas and rhododendrons. As it crashed, it smashed the high close board fence at its base, which had long concealed the lovely old garden on the other side.

The First Church purchased this sixty-by-eighty-foot garden in 1947. It had been the famous Osgood Garden, belonging to the mid-eighteenth-century house just east of the Church, now the Red Cross House.¹ For about one hundred years after the middle of the seventeenth-century it was undoubtedly the garden of the Witch House.² which still stands close behind it.

As soon as the garden was purchased, the Church repaired the fences as they had been for the past one hundred years or more: the six-foot board fence to the north with pickets extending two-feet above, the five-foot picket fence to the south, the five-foot board fence on top of the two-foot retaining wall on the west. The

1. Sidney Perley, "Part of Salem in 1700, No. 13," *The Essex Antiquarian*, VII (1903), 168-69. "Pedigreed Properties in Salem," No. 95. "Gravet conveyed the lot to Dr. Ebenezer Putnam, as an addition to his garden on October 17, 1763." Presumably, Dr. Putnam had just built his new house and purchased this land for a garden to go with it. Perley's map of Salem in 1780 shows Dr. Ebenezer Putnam's house standing on this lot.

2. Sidney Perley, "Part of Salem in 1700, No. 13," *The Essex Antiquarian*, VII (1903), 169-71.

sole entrance was moved from the south side to the middle of the west side, near the steps to the Parish House. At the same time the City of Salem restored the Witch House to its original design, and moved the Bowditch house from its crowded position between the Witch House and the Osgood house on Essex street across the corner, to its present position next to the Witch House on North street, thus creating pleasant wide lawns around the Witch House. Along the east side of the garden, the City also erected a new five-foot picket fence in keeping with the seventeenth-century architecture of the Witch House.

It took the havoc of the hurricane to bring the garden to the attention of the Church people and to necessitate their cleaning it up in the spring of 1955. Two main aims were kept in mind throughout the planning of this project: to retain as many of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century features of the garden as possible, and to orient the entire plan for Church use by making appropriate twentieth-century modifications. In the first objective, we have been aided by study at the Essex Institute of the Cousin collection of photographs, many of which date back a half-century or more, and by memories of some of our older friends. In these pictures we can identify the large, old rhododendrons, azaleas, lilacs, frings bush, and others still happily with us. These pictures also show architectural features long since gone, many of which we have restored and adapted to our new use. The handsome Ghent azaleas are some of the oldest in the country, having been in the first shipments sent here from Europe in the 1870's.³

To make the garden function for large gatherings, we have had to abandon the typical eighteenth-century plan in which the

3. From Mr. Daniel J. Foley's vast store of horticultural information come these interesting historical details about the Ghent azaleas. Immediately after the Revolution, and into the nineteenth century there was great activity among our horticulturalists in sending native horticultural specimens to Europe, where they were fascinated with the flora and fauna of the new world. The horticulturalists of Ghent, Belgium, were particularly interested in the azaleas. They hybridized chiefly three of our native azaleas, *A. Calendulathium* (the wild orange azalea), *A. Viscosum* (white swamp azalea), and *A. Nudiflorum* (wild pink azalea), as well as *A. Luteum* (a yellow azalea). From a comparison of the size of the azaleas in the First Church garden with the same varieties in a collection in Winchester, Massachusetts, which were imported in 1900, and from a similar study of the size of the bushes in our garden in the 1900 pictures in the Essex Institute, Mr. Foley estimates that our azaleas are now eighty years or more old, which implies their importation in the early 1870's, when the first shipments were made.

whole area would have been broken up with garden beds and paths. In general, we have pushed the flower beds and shrubbery plantings to the sides, creating open lawn with pockets around the edge for discussion groups, Sunday School classes, etc. We have left the giant rhododendron to dominate the center of the garden, the tall old flame azaleas flanking the arbor at the north end, and for shade, two flowering trees balancing them at the south end.

The tremendous amount of labor on this project has been performed almost entirely by Church volunteers. Numerous skills have been discovered and generously used. Throughout the project there has been a pleasant atmosphere of fellowship among the workers, and work periods ended with refreshments, relaxation, and frequently interesting discussions.

In order to keep all the Church people acquainted with the progress in the garden, Fellowship Hours have from the beginning been held in the garden after Church each Sunday, when a large number came in, climbing over the logs and stepping over the holes. Anyone can contribute to a garden, by working in it, by gifts, or by enjoying it, and these are all interdependent. Everyone was delighted with the garden, and many friends, near and far, expressed their desire to share in the project with various and generous gifts. These weekly gatherings also tended to act as an incentive for the workers to complete each week something new for the congregation to admire.

The Fellowship Hours proved so popular that we were asked to continue them indoors through the winter, and all are pleased to observe the changing aspects of our winter garden as they go by. We have served—a different lady taking charge each Sunday—old-fashioned light refreshments in keeping with our ancient New England background: simple crackers with spiced tea, hot or iced; or consomme; or hot spiced cranberry juice; or cider, iced or mulled.

The weather, during these last three years of the project, has lived up to New England's reputation for variety. Born of Hurricane Carol in 1954, the project carried out the arduous fundamental work in 1955, during the hottest and wettest summer on record. Then came two winters with record cold and snows. Spring in 1956 did not come until May Day, with a killing frost

later that month followed by a week of broiling ninety- to one hundred-degree temperatures in mid-June. The summer of 1957 was the driest on record. The flourishing garden was a tribute to the loving care of the garden workers.

Before we could start work in the spring of 1955, the men had to saw up the huge catalpa tree, and split the logs into fireplace wood for the Parish House. By then it was May, and planting was urgent. Mr. Seth Kelsey, who was raised in this Church, met with the committee and advised us as to new planting, caring for the precious old bushes, and moving or eliminating others. His men came immediately to remove rampant old forsythias and hydrangeas and put in important new plantings. A fine twenty-foot Serbian spruce was planted where a tall hemlock used to stand, in the southwest corner near the beautiful "Christmas Window" in the Church. This is our outdoor Christmas Tree. Other plantings were two yews flanking the entrance, several forsythias which bloom more fully than the old, euonymus and ampelopsis vines on the Parish House wall, and a handsome white dogwood, which according to legend was the wood of the Cross. This was the gift of our members Mr. and Mrs. Kelsey, Sr.

In about the middle of the northern part of the garden, there formerly stood a handsome wisteria arbor, with fine Georgian arches at both ends, and seats inside. The arbor has long since disappeared, but a runner from the original vine came up near the north fence, and nearly strangled an ancient honeysuckle bush. It took many hours to cut the bush away. In the meantime, the churchyard looked like a big carpenter's shop while the men were skinning ten twelve-foot posts (and several more to be used on another repair job) for a high trellis for this wisteria along the entire north end and for a framework in the center to hold the wisteria. At this place we hoped some day to build an arbor, reminiscent of the original with the same Georgian arch facing and seats on three sides. Fortunately the old arbor was copied in the famous Ropes Memorial Garden, lying to the west of the Church, and could be studied in the pictures in the Essex Institute.

Next, the garden itself looked like a shipyard with all those great spars lying there to let the paint and creosote dry. Then came the day when all the posts were put in place, with the aid of a marvelous gadget called a post-hole-digger and with plenty of

pleasant banter about buying the holes ready made! This trellis is at the top of the eight-foot fence, where the wisteria will give us green protection from the houses around the courtyard beyond, and in May, a band of lovely lavender bloom across the whole north end.

At this time, our men tore down the remains of the old five-foot close board fence, which ran on the two-foot retaining wall on the west side, from the north fence to the Red Cross House, which fronts directly on Essex Street. This was the fence the catalpa smashed. Now, all are delighted with the new four-foot iron picket fence, which allows a lovely view of the garden from the churchyard and seems to include the garden with the Church. This is a simple old iron fence, secured second-hand very reasonably, and is consistent with the higher iron picket fences in front of the churchyard and on the other side of the Church. We were also delighted when we realized, after the removal of the old party line fence, that we had a five-foot wide terrace, running from the north fence for thirty-five feet along the east end of the Parish House with the two-foot retaining wall toward the garden. The new fence therefore ends at this corner of the Parish House, thus enclosing the terrace with the garden. The tedious scraping and painting of this old fence took all summer, and it is now a joy to behold.

One fine Saturday morning, long before the trellis was finished, we launched gaily forth on what turned out to be a strenuous rock-removal program which lasted all season. When the City moved the Bowditch house, they left a fifty-two-inch granite step and a smaller one from the Osgood house. Our good Red Cross neighbors were delighted to give them to us. So a pick-up truck brought them one at a time to our terrace before the new fence had blocked that approach. The men rolled these stones across the terrace and then across the lawn to the arbor frame. Now the large half-ton Bowditch stone forms the main part of the floor of the arbor, while the Osgood stone makes the threshold.

In digging the holes for these stones, we discovered that the loam at that point went down to an incredible forty inches. We saved this loam for the later grading of the terrace and bedded the rocks with gravel from the terrace. It occurred to us that this

garden had originally been virgin forest and is one of the oldest continuous gardens in the country.

We needed a wide granite step for our terrace. Fortunately, the long program of the State, the City, and the Boston and Maine Railroad for the elimination of several dangerous grade crossings in the center of the city had at this time reached the stage where our ancient, granite, medieval-fortress type station was being torn down. The station was built in 1837, three years after the present First Church building. The massive granite blocks used in both must have made a big hole in the Rockport quarries. Why not have a granite step for our terrace from an old landmark soon to disappear from a city so conscious of antiquities?

Then followed a pleasant experience with the City, the representatives of the Hub Wrecking Company, and the B. & M. which eventually led to permission from the State House. Finally, after four months, our nine-foot, one-ton granite mullion from between two tall windows on the abutment of the east tower of the old station arrived just before our big evening Garden Party in September and lay beside the gate for all to admire. The following Saturday, our final work party crowned the season by putting our handsome stone in place as the gracious wide step to our terrace.

In the flower plantings around the entire garden, two ideas have been kept in mind. First, a garden, especially a church garden, should be a romantic spot. To this end, most of the plants are gifts from the private gardens of our many friends, as well as contributions, some of them memorials, from friends far away. The second idea has to do with maintenance. Considering the uncertainty of volunteer labor, the planting has been planned for self-maintenance through long periods.

The largest flower beds are at the north end of either side of the arbor. These were boxed up ten inches, in eighteenth-century style, with wooden alley boards to harmonize with the wooden Osgood House and were four-and one-half feet wide. They were left this width for the first year. For the borders on the other three sides, we have followed a serpentine line, consistent with eighteen-century design and conducive to forming the "pockets" spoken of previously. Moreover, this curving line relieves the severity of the angular Church architecture.

The southwest corner is our "Christmas Tree Corner," while the southeast is the "Pussy Willow Corner" with our French pussy-willow tree, which provides us with cuttings for Pussy Willow Sunday each February. This yearly cutting of the tree keeps it where it will supply a little shade and protection but not entirely obscure the view of the fine roof line of the old Witch House beyond. In this corner also, is our minister's white flowering crabapple, planted where an apple tree previously stood, balancing the ancient white hawthorn opposite, in the Christmas Tree corner. This was a twenty-year-old crabapple, given to our minister in 1955, to commemorate his score of years with us.

The center pocket of the south side was the path to the old garden gate. The Clethra and the coppice of white lilacs here make a shady nook all day. The east side is fortunately screened from the houses beyond by two large maples, forsythias, lilacs, rhododendrons, and a catalpa (a seedling from the old tree that crashed in the hurricane).

All season long the planting continued, as the plants became available. Lavender and lemon iris, and Korean chrysanthemums from the Cates' garden; lemon lilies from the Dike Mason's; peonies given by Mrs. Richard Wiswall joined the cleomes, blue hydrangeas, marigolds, nicotianas, hollyhocks and morning glories in the two south corners.

The clearing of the thickets in the lawn spaces took half the summer. Hundreds of cinnamon, interrupted, and royal ferns and funkia lilies were dug up and moved to the borders of the garden, and to a spot under a Cockspur Thorn tree at the front of the Church.

All the bushes were fertilized with sixteen bushels of manure. Thirty bushels of pine needles, gathered in the country, mulched the azaleas and rhododendrons. Weeding and crab grass eradication went on all summer in the lawn areas. Finally, by the middle of September, we had come through the "Great Upheaval," and the lawn was ready for grading and seeding. The planting of hundreds of bulbs in the fall went on with difficulty, as it was necessary to stay off the sprouting lawn.

Just before the lawn was made, everyone enjoyed an evening Garden Party, a reception for our new Director of Religious Education, Miss Helen Gresty. It was an attractive affair, with Japa-

nese lanterns and flood-lights. The hurricane candles lighting the long driveway to the street seemed most appropriate. A late afternoon shower provided the element of suspense always present with outdoor parties, but by evening Vega smiled down upon us as she played her Lyre.

In the fall the thought occurred that it would be suitable to box the north border and edge the entire garden with granite blocks, to relate the garden to the architectural granite of the Church. Again the work in process at the site of the Railroad Station provided the means. In November the new construction firm there sent us 365 of the century-old, hand-cut blocks from the pavement around the old station. These lay all winter piled along the new fence, waiting to be used in the spring.

At Christmas time in 1955 the children of the Sunday School lighted the new outdoor Christmas tree for the first time in the long history of our church. Glancing up at the Witch House, one thought of the famous or infamous preliminary witch trials held long ago in that second floor room overlooking our garden, and reflected on how shocked those same Puritans would have been to look out and see the children of their Church celebrating Christmas.

In 1956, the second season of the Garden Project, we not only delighted in the beauty of the garden we had transformed, but we rejoiced in the realization of all of the features we had hoped for and prepared for during the first year. But it was late in April before we could have our first work party, and even then, it snowed. Several mothers, treading lightly on the soft new, green lawn, uncovered the flower borders, while the children ran the wheelbarrow express to the compost pile. Ever-blooming, climbing rosebushes were planted at each trellis post across the north side, "Peace," "Inspiration," "Goldilocks," and an "Improved Blaze" in the Pussy Willow Corner. A new white dogwood was planted in the center of the south side, to close the opening, where the old gate had been. This was the gift of Mrs. Frderick Mason, as were several yews planted in the corner of the driveway by the garden entrance.

At last, on May Day, spring arrived! The new forsythias rang out their myriads of golden bells, and the Kelseys' dogwood was a cloud of white against a blue sky. Hundreds of daffodils were

golden dancers in the persistent breeze. The kindergarten children played in the garden daily and one Sunday planted their "Inspiration rose-bush with a little ceremony and a simple party. The "Fly-Ups" of the Brownie Troop which meets at The First Church, dug out the bulbs of the Star-of-Bethlehem tufts which appeared all around our new lawn. All enjoyed the fragrance of the lavender wisteria blossoms on the trellis and the cloud of white flowers on our minister's new crabapple. The Christmas-Tree spruce delighted us with a crown full of tiny red candles, soon to become this year's little blue cones.

All spring four of our Boy Scouts (Michael Ebert, Joseph E. Fellows, Jr., Harry M. Lowd, III, and Thomas Perkins) reconstructed the eighteenth-century boxing and edging around the border of the entire garden. After measuring all of the granite paving blocks, which had lain beside the iron fence all winter, they carried these thirty-five pound stones to their places in the garden. Accents of upright merlons were used throughout the entire border to echo the granite battlements on the Church tower.

Across the north side, a similar boxing was set, seven inches high, and one foot in front of the old wooden "alley Boards" or boxing, with merlons in front of the trellis posts. As soon as this was finished, the boys removed the old boards and filled the trough with loam and compost, to be planted immediately with borders of white alyssum, white and purple petunias, lemon marigolds, white nicotianas, and pink and yellow dahlias. The tall Darwin tulips were already a band of rose and gold, repeating the colors of the beautiful Ghent azaleas opposite them. Lavender and lemon and white iris formed the background and later delphiniums from Mrs. Waters' garden.

The double parapet on top of the retaining wall at the edge of the terrace required matched pairs of stones opposite each other, placed three inches apart for a planting space. All had to be eight inches high, as these could not be set in the ground at varying depths to regulate the top but were cemented in place. Between the bottoms of the inside blocks, drainage holes were left. At the same time, matched granite blocks from the old station were cemented in place each side of the broad terrace steps, for pedestals on which were set the handsome white wrought iron urns from Mrs. William Shreve. The cementing was done by the

masons who were repairing cracks in the retaining wall. The day after the parapets were finished, the urns and the planting spaces were filled with clinkers, loam, and compost and planted with ruffled white petunias. Nothing could be lovelier than this gay border, which bloomed lavishly from May till late fall. Tommy Perkins brought hen-and-chickens, and other sedums and succulents from the Perkin's hillside rock garden, which he planted in the crevices left for them last year at the back of the wide terrace steps.

The rest of the granite block edging was set five inches high, to follow the serpentine line of the borders, with merlons at accent points. Blocks were placed also across the front corner of the Church, where we planted ferns and funkias in bare places under the cockspur thorns. Other stones were used as "cat-blocks" to fill the spaces under the pickets of the east fence, where cats frequently came in. They proved an effective barrier. In 1956, these "cat-blocks" were replaced with field stones, and Terry Lowd and Tommy Perkins set them along this east border, thus completing this border around the entire garden. These granite block borders are a great success, both architecturally and practically. They have eliminated the necessity for edging of the garden after every storm, and they delineate the garden pattern as well as relating it most effectively to the granite architecture of the Church.

One fine spring day, when the lilacs in the center of the south side tossed their fragrant white blossoms, the Giant South Sea Clam Shell, lent to us by the Peabody Museum, came to spend the summer in the shady nook beneath them. It was set in a bed of variegated ivy, surrounded with royal ferns, gracefully arching Solomon's Seals (from the Sargent Wellmans' garden), and yellow, tuberous begonias, cascading over the rock edge. The birds splashed in its smooth white basin with its four deep cusps. Technically, it is a *Tridacna Giganticus*, thirty-eight inches long and weighing two hundred pounds. Undoubtedly, the sea captain who brought it to Salem from the China Sea was a member of our Church.

Early in the spring, our long quest for suitable concrete benches ended with the discovery that right in our midst, a seventeen-year-old young man, Philip Chadwick Foster Smith, would make them for us. It is of interest that Chad Smith is a direct descend-

ant of Edward Norris, minister of the Church from 1640 to 1658. We were delighted when he made a special design for us, on fine classic lines, with the quatrefoils at the ends, a form found throughout the Church and even in the garden in four-leaved clovers and many blossoms. This became our garden symbol.

The first four of these benches were given by Mrs. John Frederick Hussey in memory of her husband, who had always been a staunch friend of our Church. Another bench was given by Mrs. Frederick Slaughter, with the marker: "He restoreth my soul. Psalm 23." The Richard Smiths, who were with us only five months, gave a sixth bench to commemorate their warm friendship with us, the marker reading, "He who hath found a friend hath found a treasure. Ecclesiasticus 6." Mrs. Slaughter's bench is on the terrace, the Smiths' in the Pussy Willow Corner, and the Hussey benches are in the other three corners, one directly in front of the gate in the shade of the great rhododendron. They much enhance the beauty of our garden and are most useful.

Also early in the spring, we were deeply moved to realize that our dream of a Georgian arched arbor at the center of the north side would become a reality as a memorial to Mr. Walter Defriez Allen. During the season of 1955 Mr. Allen was one of the most enthusiastic of the garden workers. He helped with every aspect of the project but was particularly interested in building the temporary trellis in preparation for this arbor, reminiscent of the old Georgian wisteria arbor, which stood nearby long ago. Then, on February 28th, he was suddenly taken from us in the tragic Swampscott train wreck. Knowing how dearly her husband loved our garden, Mrs. Allen gave a substantial gift toward this arbor, and the following people took this opportunity to express their affectionate memory for Mr. Allen: Mr. William Abbott, Mrs. Beatrice Brown, Miss Elizabeth Coggin, Miss Alice Endicott, Mr. and Mrs. William Freeman, Dr. and Mrs. Bradford Gale, Mrs. John C. O'Connor, Mrs. William Denny Sargent, Miss Maud Webber, and Mrs. Richard Wiswall.

Two of our architects, Mr. Philip Horton Smith and Mr. James Ballou, drew up the plans for this arbor, working in the Essex Institute from photographs of the original arbor and from the reproduction of it now in the Ropes Memorial Garden. They

designed for us, however, an arbor more substantial and more formal, with the wider and more gracious proportions suitable to its use in a church garden. Most of the work on it was done by one of our very skillful young men, Mr. Emery Tanch, who turned the urn and mitered the moldings with loving care. The wisteria which covers the arbor and the trellis, is a shoot from the original vine, and a plan of rooting and pruning is being followed, eventually to relocate the main trunk outside of the arbor.

Then, to crown the season, the Walter Allen Memorial Arbor "a little architectural jewel" was completed in time for our first service in September. Its beauty surpassed everyone's expectations! The arbor and the fence and trellis had been painted subtle tints of traditional white, to harmonize with the granite colors. The wisteria vine was carefully replaced by October 14th in time for a service to dedicate all of the garden memorials.

Great care was taken of our new lawn all season. In July (the zodiacal month of the Crab!) young and old pulled out tens of thousands of crab-grass plants, everyone was entitled to celebrate for a moment with ice-cold punch when he had pulled 500 plants.

Late in October, we were glad at last to have iron railings at the entrance steps, matching the pattern of the graceful iron fence, and the curve of the railings to the Parish-House door beyond. Mrs. Foster Rogers, the donor, is one of several people, some living nearby and some from other towns, who frequently visit the garden to enjoy its restful peace and beauty. Several, who could not go down the steps alone, had previously had to content themselves with gazing into the garden from the fence. Now, with the support of the railings, they can enter the garden and rest on our beautiful benches.

Again, hundreds of bulbs were planted during the fall: aconites, colchicums, crocuses, hyacinths, madonna lilies, narcissi, scilla dampanulatas, and tulips. These were the gifts of several kind friends: Mrs. Samuel Batchelder, Mrs. Alfred D. Cole, Mrs. Josiah Gifford, Mrs. Lot Hamlin, Mrs. John Frederick Hussey, Mrs. Maurice Jurkiewicz, Mrs. Richard Prindle, and Mr. Philip Smith.

The lights on our Christmas tree gleamed under their heavy snow canopies like many colored jewels bedded in a white cotton

cone. Our young people officially turned them off in a Twelfth Night ceremony, but they had to remain on the tree till freed by a late January thaw.

In the meantime, a great seventy-five foot tower was constructed between our garden and the Witch House, anchored with heavy cables and steel spikes driven into the garden. From here, modern unseen forms and unheard voices flew through the air to Television screens all over the country, for a program concerned with the pardoning of the last of the Salem witches. We are glad to have our garden connected with this twentieth-century vindication of the witches and of our own common sense.

By the end of the 1956 season we were delighted and grateful as we used and admired our gracious Georgian arbor, handsome concrete benches, appropriate granite block edging, graceful urns for the terrace, the beautiful Giant South Sea Shell, as well as many new shrubs and flowers. These were the accomplishments of our wonderful Church volunteers, with the generosity of not only our own Church people but also of many friends outside of our parish, from far and near. As we used our garden, further needs became apparent: a permanent Fellowship table, to be made if possible of a granite millstone, and movable wooden benches and table.

During the winter, after a search of several months, an excellent 200 year old granite millstone was found in Lebanon, New Hampshire. Mr. Guy Clark and his son, of "Honey Gardens," had raised it from the bed of Mill Brook in Grafton, where it had ground meal back in Revolutionary times. A generous gift from Mrs. George S. Parker purchased this stone, to be used as a permanent Fellowship table. The great thickness of this stone indicates that it had not been used long before being abandoned. An upper millstone, it is slightly coned on top, with its furrows in "off-tangent dress" on the flat, lower grinding surface. This flat side, four-feet in diameter, is our table top.

Before dawn on the night of the Easter full moon, this 2503 pound millstone left New Hampshire for Salem. Firmly held in its oaken cradle, the stone was rolled off the flat truck, onto planks across the fence, to the top of two cordwood cribs, five and one-half-feet high, which our "Woodsmen" had notched and built to receive it.

On cold, and often drizzly, April nights teams of our men carried out the hazardous and careful lowering of the stone by means of jacks. When it reached the three-foot level, it was rolled across the garden on a series of cribs.

It was Easter time, and we were thinking of long ago, when a great stone was rolled away that the Spirit of Brotherly Love might go forth over all the world. It seemed very appropriate that our men were rolling this great stone across our garden, to be used as a table for serving the simple symbols of friendship at our Fellowship Hours.

Across the garden, ground was broken, and the four-foot hole dug for the foundation and pedestal of the millstone table. The pedestal, a concrete pipe, twenty-nine inches in diameter was securely set in this hole, with fourteen inches projecting above the ground. Meanwhile, the millstone was brought alongside, ready to be rolled onto the pedestal.

The reason for our having moved this stone on cribs at the three-foot level becomes clear at this point. There was no way to reach this spot with a truck and derrick to lift the stone up onto its pedestal, if we had rolled it across the ground as we had so many others previously. So it kept some of the altitude it gained when it was lifted onto the truck before leaving New Hampshire. Mr. Clark grinned when we told him that once it left New Hampshire soil, it would never touch Massachusetts soil.

In this final placing, the stone was made level, and its center slots were carefully set to point 5° east of true north, which is the position of the sun in Salem at high noon on Midsummer's Day. This was done to prepare the millstone for a beautiful memorial sundial, given for its center by Mrs. Louis Osborne Johnson in memory of her husband. An excellent craftsman is casting this unusual dial, with the inscription from Matthew 4, Verse 4, "Man shall not live by bread alone."

These words also head the scroll in a golden plastic tube, which was placed in the pedestal of our millstone Fellowship table, just before the concrete was poured on June 3rd, 1957. An engraving of the Church and a four-leaved clover from the garden accompanied it, and the following story of the stone:

This 200 year old millstone is the gift of Mrs. George S.

Parker to the First Church in Salem for a Fellowship Table in the Garden.

Mr. Guy Clark and his son from Lebanon, N. H., raised it from the bed of Mill Brook in Grafton, N.H., where for many years it ground flour for the bread of life. Once it left its native soil, it never again touched the ground.

In April and May of 1957, it was rolled across our Garden on high timber cribs and placed on its pedestal through the skill and good will of the following people of our Church:

William Abbott	Wilfred Hall
James Ballou	Wallace Jones, Jr.
David Brewster	Robert Kenney
Marian Brown	Henry Lewis
Jeremiah Burns	Elmer Liebsch, Jr.
William R. Burns, Jr.	Dike Mason, Jr.
Andrew Bye	Derby Moore
Arthur Crosby	Robert Murray
Brian Crosby	Gerald Neizer
Reginald Crowley	James Newton
Robert Dee	Nathan Nichols
Richard Elliot	Vernon Otten
John Farley, Jr.	Clifford Pingree
Joseph Fellows, Jr.	Thomas Sanders, Jr.
Rodney Ford	John Shaw
Elizabeth Freeman	Emery Tanch, Jr.
William Freeman	Ernest Vent
Bradford Gale	William Waldron, Jr.

Joseph Woodbury

On Children's Sunday, June 9th, 1957, the Millstone Fellowship table was dedicated before a large audience, and the Fellowship Hour refreshments were served from it for the first time.

The day the millstone was brought to our garden, Kelsey's men planted fifteen arborvitae trees along the east fence, where they will become an all-year screen from the North Street traffic. At the same time, they placed eight-foot Laburnams, the gift of Mrs. Ballou and Mrs. Gwinn, each side of the arbor, to screen the garden from the houses on Eaton Place beyond, along with the ash tree and the Silver Bells tree at this end. Across the terrace, they planted four ever-blooming Peace rosebushes to climb up the side of the Parish House, on a lattice-pattern trellis, like one in the garden fifty years ago. These are given in memory of Mrs. Samuel H. Batchelder, by her friends, Mr. and Mrs. Wilfred

Marchand, Mr. and Mrs. Marshall S. Price, and Mrs. Elinor Price Ricker. Sod was placed around the great stones forming the floor of the arbor, and later we started a ground cover under the arbor benches of our own ivy and of a rare curly ivy from Mr. Daniel Foley's garden.

Spring and the first crocuses arrived together. These bright harbingers made a gay ribbon of hundreds of gold and white and purple blossoms across the north border. Soon hundreds of daffodils and forsythias circled the garden with gold. Blue and white hyacinths of the "Song of Solomon" bloomed at the sides of the arbor and in a wreath around our minister's tree, interwoven with pansies. Later, pink ivy geraniums took their place, while fragrant Daphne bushes, given by our kindergarten children, the Topsfield Garden Club, and Mrs. Beatrice Brown, graced the entrance to the arbor. Cascades of these pink geraniums bloomed all season in tubs each side of the bench by the central rhododendron, and in May myriads of scilla campanulatas wove a medieval tapestry beneath it. Each day brought out hundreds of new Heavenly Blue and Pearly Gates morning glories on the terrace, in the Pussy Willow Corner, and all along the iron fence.

Much to the delight of both old and young, our beautiful Giant South Sea Shell returned to us in the spring to stay, as a lovely anonymous gift, a gleaming white pool surrounded with variegated ivy, in its shady copse at the south end. We have enjoyed using it indoors also, during the winter.

A garden should be used and enjoyed, and we are happy to observe that this is increasingly true of ours. In addition to the popularity of our regular weekly Church use of the garden, more and more groups enjoy meeting there. The National Officers of the Unitarian Service Committee were in the garden for part of their meeting at the Church. The National Unitarian Religious Education Committee started their all-day meeting with coffee in the garden. One of the Sunday School classes prepared a Bible playlet to be presented on the terrace during a Fellowship Hour in the garden. The Topsfield Garden Club brought tea, and the Cambridge Garden Club, their picnic lunches, on pilgrimages to the garden, and later enjoyed the kodachrome lecture, "The Meta-

morphosis of An Old Garden," which is the story of this garden project. Our annual Church Strawberry Festival was held in the garden, a pretty party, one balmy evening, with a hundred people seated at little tables in our fragrant bower, watching the entertainment.

In June, month of roses, the first bride to be married at the Walter Allen Memorial Arbor, was Mr. Allen's daughter, Nancy, who married Mr. Robert Harper. Huge bouquets of garden flowers flanked the entrance and banked the arbor. Madonna lillies bloomed with the roses beside the arbor, and across the whole north end. The Church bells pealed merrily after the lovely simple ceremony.

This year, the summer care of the garden was carried out by the following group of Summer Garden Workers: Mrs. Frank Ballou, Summer Chairman; Mrs. Vernon Otten, Mrs. William R. Burns, Jr., Mrs. Jerry Burns, Mrs. Henry Lewis, Mrs. Robert Dee, Mrs. Emery Tanch, Mrs. James Newton, and Mrs. Ernest Betts. Each took one week to be in charge. In spite of the worst drought on record, they tended it so well that when the Garden Chairman returned from Europe at the end of the summer, she was delighted to find it green and full of flowers. Early in September, these workers met for a crabmeat luncheon, and an all day session, pulling out all the remaining crab grass, over 10,000 plants. Then the entire lawn was fed, and thin spots were seeded.

At this time, our four movable white wooden benches arrived in the garden and found immediate use. They were given to us by Richard Allen, Martha Allen Farwell, and Nancy Allen Harper. Built by Bill Abbott and Emery Tanch from pews of the old Second Church, they follow the design of our stationary concrete benches, with our garden symbol, the quartrefoil; they are of seasoned wood; and they have historic significance.

Also from this Second Church lumber, these men built the trellis for the memorial Peace rose-bushes across the terrace. It is of the same lattice design as our arbor, which was in both the original arbor, and a rose trellis of the old Osgood garden. A fascinated audience watched as the trellis was fastened to the Parish House wall by studs shot out of a gun! In the fall, again hundreds of bulbs were planted. In the summer of 1958, we shall "Consider the lilies," for among these bulbs, there are dozens of nine differ-

ent varieties of our beautiful Oregon Hybrids of Oriental Lillies.

Before the end of the 1957 season, we were happily using our handsome millstone table and four wooden benches. At Thanksgiving time we were very grateful to receive from Mrs. John Frederick Hussey a very generous gift, which means the realization of our hopes for a movable table also. Plans are under way for a table with a top of eight pictorial tiles, on a wrought iron base. The tiles will be made by Miss Katherine Alden, leading ceramics craftsman. A direct descendant of John and Priscilla Alden, she lives in the oldest house in Plymouth with her kiln house in her garden, terraced down to Town Brook.

On these tiles, scenes from the long history of our Church will depict important events from each of the four traditions of our parish, First, East, North, and Barton Square. The first tile will record the establishment of this Church in 1629, with the installation of Francis Higginson and Samuel Skelton, who were given the Right Hand of Fellowship by Elder Brewster and Dr. Fuller from the Plymouth Colony. Another tile will show our great early liberal, Roger Williams, defending liberty of conscience before Cotton Mather's court in Boston in 1635. The Witchcraft episode of 1692 will be memorialized by a picture of the Witch House, which still stands beside our garden with Gallows Hill in the distance. Also represented will be Reverend Thomas Barnard, Jr.'s defence of the North Bridge against the British in 1775, before the famous shot in Concord. The next three scenes will illustrate the growth of the liberal spirit through the nineteenth century, with the broad-minded tolerance of our illustrious Dr. William Bentley, who welcomed the first Roman Catholics of Salem into his own home to plan for the saying of Mass; and with the rational school of free thinkers of the period of western expansion as represented by Rev. Octavius Brooks Frothingham and Rev. Henry Coleman, of the North and Barton Square Churches, respectively. The final tile will symbolically represent the reunion of the three daughter churches with the Mother Church and the 325th Anniversary of the Church in 1954.

During the 300 years of this garden's existence, it has made an interesting progression, in approximately 100 year periods, from the seventeenth-century garden of the Witch House, to Dr. Ebenezer Putnam's eighteenth-century garden, to its famed beauty

in the nineteenth-century with the Osgoods, to its present state at the beginning of its fourth century as the twentieth-century garden of The First Church.

It seems most appropriate that this ancient Church and this ancient garden should go on together, through growth and change, looking forward to the bright promises and happy surprises of each new spring.

Regular Garden Workers—1955-1956-1957

Ruth Betts	William Abbott
Rebecca Bradley	Walter Allen
Abbie Burns	Ernest Betts
Mary Ann Burns	Robert Dee
Sally Dee and 4 children	Willard Farwell
Virginia Ebert	Joseph E. Fellows
Elizabeth Freeman	William Freeman
Jane Gale	Bradford Gale
Stephanie Gale	Fred Jenkins
Muriel Lewis	Robert Kenney
Roberta Newton	Henry Lewis
Ruth Newton	George Merrill
June Otten	Billy Slaughter
Myrtle Sanford	Emery Tanch, Jr.
Margaret Slaughter	
Edith Tanch	

PEPPER WIFE

Edited by HELEN O'BOYLE PARK

THE VIGOROUS INTELLIGENCE of Salem mariners and merchants is one of the essential factors in the history of the American pepper trade. Salem vessels accounted for 42.6 per cent of the total number of American voyages to Sumatra between 1784 and 1873, the extreme limits of continuous American merchant contact with Sumatra.¹ The drama of these long, often dangerous voyages and the enormous profits which accrued to the investors have obscured the losses in human relationships suffered by the voyagers and their families. The women, young and extremely vulnerable amid the uncertainties of long absences, had an especially difficult time, without the compensating exhilaration of the voyage itself.

The letters printed below,² written by Elizabeth Day Nichols to her husband during the first two years of their marriage, show the loneliness and difficulties which followed her marriage at the age of twenty-two to John Nichols, Jr.³ According to custom, important news is repeated in another letter to insure its safe transmission. The lack of formal education implied in these letters was by no means characteristic of the pepper wives as a group.⁴

Elizabeth and John Nichols were married September 20, 1828. Before December 24, the date of his wife's first letter after their marriage, he had sailed as first officer aboard the brig *Malay*, one of the most important vessels in the Sumatran trade, ranking fourth among the American vessels in number of voyages.⁵ The *Malay* did not come home until July, 1831. It sailed again for Sumatra in September, with John Nichols, Jr., as master. Elizabeth Nichols died on October 21 of that year.

1. James W. Gould, "Sumatra—America's Pepperpot," Part III, Essex Institute *Historical Collections*, XCII (October 1956), 344.

2. From the Waters papers in the Essex Institute.

3. The birth and death of this particular John Nichols are not recorded, although his marriage is. The editor has found no clues to his relationship either to the Waters family or to a specific Nichols family. His wife's birth, and death are recorded, as well as their marriage, *Vital Records of Salem, Massachusetts, to the End of the Year 1849*, (Salem, 1916).

4. No changes have been made in the text except for the addition of periods which were generally omitted in the manuscript letters. Gaps have been indicated and letters inserted in brackets where damage to the original made the text illegible.

5. Gould, *loc. cit.*, p. 346.

Salem December 24, 1828

Dear Husband I now set down at ten a clock to write a few Lines to inform my absent friend of my health which is very good And I sincerely hope these few lines will find you the same. I have no news to tell you as you may expect but though you would like to have a few lines from home. I have been to Sally Harwoods Weding but should have enjoyed myself better if you had been there. the Cares that will take this sails tomorrow morning. that is the occasion of my Wrighting so late. I went down to mothers the night that you went to sea for I could not bear to see the house after it lost its chief attraction. the Brig looked beautiful the morning——sailed but if she every comes home it will be a more joyful——. I try not to dispar nowing that is a merciful god to protect you while absent. your folks are all well. Mother and Margaret⁶ Send their Love to you. pray Write every opportunity And be assured your Affectionate Wife will do the Same.

good night and may God protect you

Elizabeth Nichols

Salem July 18

Dear Husband I set down to inform you that the first day of this month you had a Son. I cant say a great boy but there is room a nuf to grow and if you want to know who he looks like you must look in the glass. I am very weak indeed and have been this four months but hope with the blessing of god I shall soon get my health And strengthen. I have moved out of Mr. Safford house into Mr. Preston for I was discontented. I want able to pay him but a very littel and he has treated me in a shameful [m]anner. I am not able to write more. all the folks Desires to be remembered to you. it appears to me if you every live to get home I shall bee to happy But I am afraed that your boy will say father first. Write every opportunity And make yourself easy on my account.

Yours til Death

Elizabeth Nichols

6. Apparently a sister of Elizabeth Day Nichols. A letter in this collection to Capt. Nichols is addressed "Dear Brother" and signed Margaret Day.

Salem May 16, 1830

Dear Husband thare being a vessel about to sail for the coast of Sumarty I embrace the happy opportunity of imfrming you of My health wich has not been very good since you left Salem but I hope with the blesing of god that it will be better. I am in day-lay expectaion of a letter from you. Captain Gillis has not arived yet and i think I shall have letters by him as i did not have any from Gibralter. I wrote out thear the first of last July after the Birth of our Son. if you did not recive that letter I suppose you have not heard from home since you was on the Coast. I received your letters and likewise the Shell by Mr. Wilkins and delivered it to Mr Stone. it fetched a very good price. And now i suppose you would like a description of your Boy. [S]till you will say i am parsial if i say he is all that the most [anx]ious parents could wish so far but we must not put to much——on him. he is the living image of his father. o if you could But see him as he lays aslep in the cradel i should have no wish But what would be gratifyed when i think that you are again to bee gone a nother year I can hardly bear the thought. Still if it is all for the best i must not complain. Hariet has come home from New York and is a going to bee maried to a Mr. Shipman⁷ a very Worthy man. he follows the Seas for a living and she has every prospect of a good Husband. Mother and Margaret Send thear love to you and say they long to have you see the Boy. you desired me to mention my Surcunstinces when i wrote. if you can make it conveinte i should like to have you Send me some Money but i forgot that this letter you gitt On the Coast and if you have not sent any on dont wory about it. I have moved in Mr. Swasyes house close by Mothers as i have been from thar over a year and it is plesinter to bee near your friends. Eliza Bedny has lost both her children and Carealine has lost her little Boy. likewise your Aunt Bedny is dead. your folks is all well and send there love to you. I have no more to write At present. you must excuse all mistakes as i am in a grate hury for the[y] Say the vessel will sail in a short time. So no more.

Yours till Death

Elizabeth Nichols

7. Harriet Nichols and Charles J. Shipman were married in Salem on May 30, 1830, *Vital Records of Salem*, IV, 123.

Salem May 23, 1830

The Ship Friendship being about to sail i imbrace the happy Opportunity of imfoming my dear and Absent Husband of my health Wich is i thank god better than it was and i hope thes few lines Will find you injoying every blessing. I was surprised at not reciving A letter from Gibralter nor Genoa but shal ser-tainly expect one By Mr. Gillis. he is expected every moment. I called to see his wife the other day and she imformed me that he had a letter and he Would be at home the last of this month. he has a fine boy but Not hansomer than your one. i expect you will smiel and say That a mother is no judge but i hope that you will see him and then you can judge for yourself but if he lives he will be a grate boy Before you get home. O the long leg doubel voyges⁸ is a apt to Discourage any one but we must bee contented and hope it is all For the best. if you get all the letters that i have writting since you have been gone you will not complain. i received that shell [by] Mr. Wilkins. Mother and Margaret are well and send thar love to you. Margaret says she has kissed the boy a hundreded Times for you. Hariet is well and sends her love to you. she Is a going to bee married next Sunday to a Mr. Shipman A very worthy man. your Aunt Bedny is dead. I have no News to tell you. pray write every opportunity and bee assured I shall do the same for i need somthing to pass away the time till your return. Accept the sincere love of your Absent Wife and Son who will bee erly taught to love his absent Father. I Antisapate the time of your return with impatience.

Yours till Death

Elizabeth Nichols

8. According to Mr. Charles H. P. Copeland, a double voyage in the Sumatran trade meant a voyage to Sumatra to pick up a cargo, its disposal in a European port, and a return to Sumatra for a second cargo which was again sold in a European port before the vessel returned to its home port. Mr. Copeland, librarian of the Salem Public Library, was formerly Curator of Maritime History and librarian at the Peabody Museum in Salem.

The *Malay* was refitted at Gibraltar in March, 1830. Captain James Gillis transferred command to John Nichols, Jr., and came home on another vessel.

Salem, November 28, 1830

Dear Husband I now imbrace the opportunity of imforming you of my Health wich is a great deal better than it was the last time i wrote and i hope With the blesing of god these few lines will find you injoying the same blessing. I am in dayly expectaion of News by the ceres. she is looked for every day. god send that it may prove good news. I have not much news to tel you except The Murder of Mr. White wich i suppose you have heard. however if you have Not Frank Knap has alredy been hung and his Brother joseph will bee in a few days. geoarg Crowninshield was cleared Richard having hung himself in prison.⁹ I suppose you would like to hear from your boy. he is well and A runing round the room while i am a wrighting. he begins to say some——and already nows whear his Dear Father is that is your protrait.——— called his name William Day Nichols untill your return As i did not now what name you would choose. Mother and Margaret Send ther love to you. they think thear never was such a child before. And if i wass not afraid of making you vain I should say he was A lovely boy for ther never was too looked more a like. he will bee Large enuf to go down on the Wharf with you iff this teduioius voage ever comes to a end. I sincerely hope we shall never bee parted so long again Mother says you must not forgot her present. she expect you will bee so proud of him that you will think he is worth a great deal more. Wright every opportunity and i shall do the same.

Yours till Death

Elizabeth Nichols

9. Captain Joseph White was murdered in his house on Essex Street in Salem. Richard Crowninshield actually committed the murder at the instigation of Joseph Knapp, Jr., and John Francis Knapp. Daniel Webster prosecuted the Knapps. Webster's manipulation of the evidence was a contemporary legal *cause célèbre*.

WE TALKED WITH WHITTIER

By WILLIAM STETSON MERRILL

THE CLOSE OF the year 1957 marked the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the birth of John Greenleaf Whittier on December 17, 1807, and the sixty-fifth year since his death on September 7, 1892. As very few persons now living may have had the experience of talking with Whittier, my personal reminiscence of doing so more than seventy years ago may be of interest.

Four of us fellows, around twenty years of age, went on a hiking trip in the summer of 1885 to the White Mountains of New Hampshire. I was a freshman in Harvard College at the time; Joseph Cullen Ayer, Jr. and Walter Downes Humphrey were studying for the ministry in the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge; Frank Underwood had been my schoolmate in Newton, Massachusetts. I alone of the four am now alive to tell the tale.

As we planned to camp out on the way, we provided ourselves with knapsacks in which we carried clothing and eating utensils. A saucepan dangled from the corner of one knapsack and a teakettle from another. Rolled blankets and a folded canvas tent were strapped to the knapsacks. We slept in the tent on one night only; afterwards we slept on it under the open sky. Thus equipped we presented a somewhat unusual group as we trudged along the country roads.

We came by railroad train from Boston to Alton Bay at the southern tip of Lake Winnepeaukee; there we boarded the little steamer *The Lady of the Lake*, which carried us across the lake to Center Harbor, where we shouldered our knapsacks and took to the road. A walk of a few miles brought us to the top of a long hill. Here on a scenic spot overlooking Squam Lake, called by Starr King "the most beautiful of all the small sheets of water in New England," stood the Asquam House. We entered its driveway; and as we stood in front of the hotel admiring the view, a man came out and walked toward us.

He was elderly but was erect of stature; a gray beard fringed the lower part of his long face. There was no mistaking him; he was Whittier. He greeted us pleasantly, chatted and asked us where we were going. As he eyed our equipment curiously he caught

sight of a hunting knife with broad shiny blade, sticking in Humphrey's belt, and he asked to look at it. As he was turning it over in his hand, he remarked with a smile:

"This reminds me of the knives that Norwegians are said to use when they fight duels. The two men are tied together around the waist. Knives are given them and they slash at each other."

Whittier handed the knife back to Humphrey and after a few more words he re-entered the hotel. We resumed our way which led toward the distant mountains. As we sat around our campfire that night, we recalled the events of the day. What a gruesome story that was, we agreed, for Whittier, a poet and a Quaker, to tell! We laughed about it more than once afterwards.

The view as seen from the spot where we stood with him is pictured by Whittier himself in two stanzas of his poem "The Hill-Top."

I felt the cool breath of the North;
 Between me and the sun,
O'er deep, still lake, and ridgy earth,
 I saw the cloud-shades run.
Before me, stretched for glistening miles,
 Lay mountain-girded Squam;
Like green-winged birds, the leafy isles
 Upon its bosom swam.

There towered Chocorua's peak; and west,
 Moosehillock's woods were seen,
With many a nameless slide-scarred crest
 And pine-dark gorge between.
Beyond them, like a sun-rimmed cloud,
 The great Notch mountains shone,
Watched over by the solemn-browed
 And awful face of stone!

BOOK REVIEWS

E. N. HARTLEY, *Ironworks on the Saugus: The Lynn and Braintree Ventures of the Company of Undertakers of the Iron-works in New England*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1957. Pp. xvi, 328. \$4.50.

The major and almost only flaw in this fine book is its title, for the subject matter ranges much farther and much deeper than one is led to expect. It is an excellent, detailed, and thoroughly documented study of the two iron works at Braintree and Saugus, but it also covers the early attempt at iron manufacture in Virginia, the first made upon this continent, a study of monopolies in England under Elizabeth, and the technology of iron making three hundred years ago. In addition, it adds to our knowledge of the activities of John Winthrop, Jr. All this makes interesting reading for the layman.

To the serious student of New England history the greatest value of the book lies in the author's study of the impact of an industry suddenly introduced into the Puritan state. Here is an element completely alien both in its social and economic aspects, thrust into the agricultural and mercantile Bay Colony. Iron making was not a local industry initiated by local capitalists, but a large scale overseas venture of a group of wealthy Englishmen. This has not hitherto been generally appreciated, and many have thought of the Braintree and Saugus works (they were both parts of the same enterprise) as little local undertakings not materially different from Israel Stoughton's Milton grist mill or the fulling mill at Roxbury. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The manufacture of iron was big business—a large-scale operation, a General Motors of its day. The design of the plant was as advanced as anything existing anywhere in the world. How it failed and why is an involved and interesting story well told by Dr. Hartley. In the final analysis, however, it really did not fail, for graduates of the Saugus works established other and more successful plants elsewhere in New England and in New Jersey. This book is the story of the beginnings of industrial America, its problems, its errors, and its effect upon its surroundings.

There are one or two minor omissions. A paragraph or two covering the differences between cast and wrought iron would bring out the fact that only the cast iron of the furnace could be used for pots, firebacks, and cannon, but that it was too brittle for most other uses. Wrought iron, on the other hand, which possessed the toughness required for tools, nails, chains, and anchors, when molten, remained in a pasty, semi-fluid state and could not be cast, but had to be shaped under the hammer. Another matter of some interest not touched upon is the fact that an iron furnace was allowed by the Puritans to operate seven

days in the week, a privilege granted to nothing else within the colony.

There are a considerable number of very excellent illustrations, but none from Diderot and D'Alembert's great encyclopedia, which was the source of much of the machinery design for the reconstruction at Saugus. One or two plates from this work would have added value and interest.

While it hardly falls within the limits of a book review, in this particular case it is not all out of order to give high praise to the meticulous reconstruction recently accomplished on the site of the old Saugus works, since Dr. Hartley was the research historian for the project and contributed greatly to its success.

This is a book which certainly should be read by every serious student of the social and economic history of New England. At the same time it offers a most interesting story to the general reader.

EDWARD P. HAMILTON

Fort Ticonderoga

HOWARD R. FLOAN, *The South in Northern Eyes, 1831 to 1861*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1958. Pp. 198, \$3.95.

Professor Floan's analysis of Northern opinion of the *antebellum* South opens new vistas. For it provides a compendium of material that gives a new perspective on nineteenth-century American literature, the abolition movement, and the genesis of the Civil War.

In this interesting volume are collected the images and conceptions of the South and slavery to be found in the works of the major writers of the North—one group centering around Boston (Whittier, Lowell, Emerson, Thoreau, Longfellow, Holmes, and Hawthorne), the other, around New York (Melville, Bryant, and Whitman). Dr. Floan shows how the New England writers, most of them without direct knowledge of the South and its "peculiar institution," tended to accept the stereotyped picture presented by abolitionists Garrison and Phillips. Characteristic was Essex County's Whittier, whose poetry had been discovered by Garrison in 1826 when he was editing *The Free Press*. Under Garrison's influence he became an active abolitionist, though he and Garrison differed in their emphasis on political action. For many years Whittier wrote for the cause, expressing in prose and poetry the abolitionist clichés. Exceptional among New England writers was Essex County's other major figure, Hawthorne, who remained aloof from the anti-slavery agitation gyrating around him, because he considered slavery possibly "one of those evils which divine Providence does not leave to be remedied by human contrivance." Also he had too much respect for the Union to endanger it by anti-slavery agitation. Only when war came did he

decide that emancipation was essential for the restoration of the country's unity.

Whereas the New England writers, with the exception of Hawthorne, accepted the myopic abolitionist image of the South and even became agitators, the New York group, knowing the South from personal experience (Melville, Bryant, and Whitman—all had spent time there), presented a truer and more complex view. Although they disapproved of slavery as an institution, they did not analyze the nation's problem as a simple dichotomy between good and evil. Melville made his comment indirectly and satirically in his fiction; Bryant and Whitman made theirs directly and politically in their editorials, Whitman's love of the South and his hatred of slavery finding expression also in his poems. Ironically, it has been the more vivid, less accurate picture projected by the New Englanders which has found general acceptance by posterity.

But, no matter what their view of the South and slavery, none of the writers of the nineteenth century succeeded in fashioning great literature from the tragic problems of their era. It has remained for Benét, Williams, and especially Faulkner of the twentieth to translate the earlier image into art.

WALTER M. MERRILL

Essex Institute

FLOYD HUNTER, RUTH CONNOR SCHAFFER, and CECIL G. SHEPS, *Community Organization: Action and Inaction*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1956. Pp. xviii, 268. \$5.00.

Despite its title this is not a general treatise on community organization; rather, it is an account of a piece of empirical research undertaken in Salem, Massachusetts, during 1952-1953, by an "interdisciplinary team" from the University of North Carolina Institute for Research in Social Science, aided by a grant from the Health Information Foundation of New York. Headed by Floyd Hunter, Associate Professor in the School of Social Work, and Cecil Sheps, Research Professor of Health Planning, the team included Mrs. Schaffer, Research Fellow, and two graduate students representing anthropology and sociology respectively. The latter three did most of the field work.

The "general objective was to locate a community in which people were active in relation to health needs and to observe systematically and record the processes by which decisions were reached, plans were formulated on the basis of these decisions, and action programs were initiated and carried out to meet health problems of a community."

The first task was to locate the community. After consideration of some seventy towns of 40,000 to 70,000 residents, lying in the coastal region stretching from Maryland to Maine, and exhib-

iting an interest in health, the research group selected Salem as the site for their experiment. Besides satisfying the geographic and demographic requirements, it had recently taken preliminary steps through its Community Council toward a study of its own problems and needs in respect to health services. Since this was to be a study of a community in the process of studying itself, since the researchers, after the original catalytic action, were to maintain rigorously the role of objective observer, it was quite necessary for the town selected to have shown a marked tendency to action in its own behalf. The Salem Community Council and the health officials of the town, recognizing the value of the prestige which would accrue to their efforts from association with the world of social science, issued an invitation to the research staff. In June, 1952, they moved into Salem, armed with an imposing set of definitions, postulates, and hypothesis about the dynamics of community action. These, over the next nine months, were to be pitted against the raw facts of Salem's corporate life.

The first few months were occupied in obtaining a prodigious amount of background material about the history, the economic struggles, the ethnic and religious differentiations of this once autonomous New England town which for some time has been suffering from the consequence of the expansion of the Boston metropolitan area. It became apparent to the scientist guests that their host, "fighting a rear guard action for the retention of commerce and industry, and wracked by gnawing internal problems of an ethnic and religious character" was with great difficulty retaining "a proud, if somewhat unreal, independence as a community."

The first half of the book is devoted to these materials and to a deft description, in all their ramifications, of the prestige system, the power structure, the hierarchy of leadership, of the Salem community. The use of intimate profiles of representative individuals who are even graced with names, *e.g.*, Dr. Katzenstein, Mrs. Patterson (not their real names, it is true, but happily chosen pseudonyms) quickly gives the reader a lively sense of acquaintance with the main protagonists of the Salem drama.

From social structure the report moves on to the organizations critically involved with health. The personnel and the resources of the health services, public and private, are delineated with the same skill, and the lines of relationship to the basic elements of community structure are revealed. Then comes a chapter describing the dynamics of power in action, the accepted ways in Salem of "getting things done" which need to be done. The general patterns of action of three types of community groups—the industrial-commercial, the political, the civic—are explored, again with liberal resort to portraiture of typical individuals.

Having thus set the stage, the report settles down to an almost day-to-day description of the development and progress of the self-

study conducted by the Health Committee of the Community Council. The members of the committee, their affiliations, the reasons for their choice, are described minutely. Next comes a really superb account of the numerous meetings, the clashes of personalities and interests, the waste of time and effort, which accompanied the committee's quest. The climax of the story arrives when the committee (or rather, the valiant residue) produces its recommendations (none of which are radical or unexpected) and submits the results of its labor to the parent body for action. Surprisingly enough, although most of the recommendations soon suffer the usual fate of their kind and get buried in special committees, one of them—a request for a consolidated health center—shows enough life to emerge into the realm of political action. As the study concludes there seems little doubt that this not particularly controversial goal will be attained in the near future. Considerable doubt remains, however, in the reader's mind as to whether it might not have been attained without the self-study. Probably it would have been. But, as the authors point out, Salem would not have felt as good about it, if the community leaders had not deferred to the proper symbols and protocols of democratic action.

Adequate and just criticism of the Salem experiment is not feasible within the compass of a review. Nevertheless it may be worthwhile to indicate the main areas in which the study failed or succeeded in its purposes.

As an experiment, designed to test hypotheses about the dynamics of community behavior, the project seems to this reader to have fallen considerably short of its goal. It is only fair to point out that the authors are quite candid in respect to their failure to prove or disprove any significant hypothesis. Of the two major propositions with which they started, the first, which was concerned with the relation of cultural change to established community patterns, soon proved an embarrassment to the study team. As might have been foreseen (and doubtless was), it could not be tested within the limitations of the project, and it was soon jettisoned. The second hypothesis should have been more amenable to the empirical test since it was a vastly more modest proposal, comprising specific questions of relationship between the success of a community health program, the extent of objective knowledge about their problems which the leaders of the project possess, and the quality of the leadership. Even here, however, the reader is left in doubt at the end as to whether anything important was discovered. It was only when the staff worked its way down the ladder of abstraction to such sub-hypotheses as "community function are delegated to specific functioning groups in the community," or, "a few leaders will emerge in the study process who will be instrumental in furthering the study," that they seem

to have been able to find anything like firm footing. There might well be a serious question as to the necessity of going to so much trouble to get positive answers to propositions like these. Of course it can always be argued that finding out what *cannot* be found out is an important part of any research. But, in this case, better planning of the experimental part of the study might well have led to more significant results.

There is, likewise, little evidence that the interdisciplinary approach to this particular problem bore the fruit which was anticipated. Only a slight attempt has been made to use the wealth of facts about prestige and power relations, about ethnic and religious alignments, in the interpretation of the behavior of the self-study committee. This is not to say that the background materials were not useful to the research team, perhaps even necessary, for an understanding of the community in action. But the reader is left with the unfortunate impression that he has heard about two studies, not one. Both are of high caliber, each has merit in its own right, the first is an able survey of social structure, the second an expert piece of journalism. The pity of it is that even the last two chapters cannot weave them into a single fabric. In view of the stated purpose of the study this is a serious shortcoming.

On the other hand, *Community Organization* is a fascinating and absorbing book. It sets forth skillfully, even artistically, the sociologically significant features of a New England town, and it describes vividly a specific event in the life of that town. No one who has ever participated in the civic affairs of a similar community will fail to recognize himself and his colleagues.

MASON T. RECORD

Connecticut College

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, *Prelude to Independence: The Newspaper War on Britain, 1764-1776*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1958. Pp. x, 318, xvi. \$6.00.

Arthur M. Schlesinger, Francis Higginson Professor of History, Emeritus, at Harvard University, will be welcomed back by colonial historians for the publication of his most recent book, concerning the role played by newspapers in the movement toward American independence. Forty years ago, with his *Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution, 1763-1776*, Professor Schlesinger made an important contribution to the literature of that period. In the years since 1918 he has largely directed his labors in a field which he himself helped to pioneer—American social history. Now he returns to his earlier interest with a characteristically original approach.

Mr. Schlesinger has long been a student of American journal-

ism. Host and friend to the many professional newsmen who have studied at Harvard as Nieman Fellows (to whom the present volume is generously dedicated), he brings to his latest book a warm respect and love for the press. The author has taken pains to weave the story of colonial newspapers on the eve of the War for Independence into the fabric of the history of that twelve-year period. It is the masterful presentation of this relationship between the events as they happened and the activity of journalists which makes Mr. Schlesinger's study so successful.

Prelude to Independence opens with a brief but brilliant interpretation of the period 1764-1776. Mr. Schlesinger takes as his point of departure the familiar but oft-ignored statement which John Adams made in 1818: "The Revolution was in the hearts and minds of the people. . . . This radical change in the principles, opinions, sentiments, and affections of the people was the real American Revolution." Thus, to Mr. Schlesinger, the war which followed Lexington and Concord was a war to establish as political fact an independence which had already occurred in the minds of men. That this change took place at all was in no small measure the result of newspaper propaganda. The author is quick to point out that the press was only one of several vehicles utilized by the patriots in the pre-war period to sway the opinions of their contemporaries. Ministers, pamphleteers, informal groups such as the Sons of Liberty, and still less formal mobs all played their part. But by far the most consistent, and significant, "lever of propaganda" was the newspaper.

By 1764 there were some twenty-three journals scattered through fifteen colonial towns, with Boston, New York, and Philadelphia each enjoying several. By Independence Day this total had grown to thirty-two, in addition to a number of others (including Tory papers) which had fallen by the wayside in the interim. Mr. Schlesinger first discusses the general organization and procedures followed by several leading printers, as they almost universally styled themselves, and then turns to his main task, tracing the role played by these newspapers as organs of opinion and catalysts of action.

The Stamp Act, with its heavy assessments on newsprint, advertisements, and the printing of pamphlets, brought an immediate reaction on the part of most colonial printers against the new imperial system devised by the British ministry at the close of the Seven Years' War. The cries of protest raised by the journals against this form of taxation were instrumental in bringing about the Act's repeal and gave to the editors a sense of accomplishment which in later years would lead many of them to greater endeavors against subsequent acts of Parliament. It was during the Stamp Act crisis that many of the patriot journalists first mastered the techniques of propaganda. Within a few years several print-

ters had established themselves as leaders of the American cause: the partnership of Edes and Gill, publishers of the *Boston Gazette*; Isaiah Thomas, of Boston's *Massachusetts Spy* and later editor also of Newburyport's *Essex Journal*; John Holt, of the *New-York Journal*; and William Bradford, of the *Pennsylvania Journal* in Philadelphia. There were others, but the voices of these men spoke the language of Whiggism with the most consistent volume throughout the period leading to independence.

The patriot press was not without significant opposition, however, from the Tories. In Boston John Mein, until forced to flee in late 1769, and later "Jemmy" Rivington in New York both preached the loyalist line with all the means at their command. But theirs was a losing battle, fought against overwhelming numerical odds, and in most instances against stacked cards. For as the author points out, the patriots in unleashing mob rule against these dissenters "simply contended that liberty of speech belonged solely to those who spoke the speech of liberty." By mid-1775 the voice of the Tories had been all but silenced. The Great Debate concerning the wisdom of independence was a discussion not between Whigs and Tories but among Whigs themselves, some favoring the step, others advocating reunion, and each attempting to sway the opinion of the undecided. The final decision was largely the product of an effective propaganda campaign led by radical journalists enjoying ready access to the public ear.

In final assessment, Schlesinger has this to say: "The movement [along the road to Independence] could hardly have succeeded without an ever alert and dedicated press. At every crisis the patriot prints fearlessly and loudly championed the American cause, never yielding ground as did some of the politicians." There will be historians who will howl at Professor Schlesinger's interpretation of the Revolutionary movement and those who will chide him for unduly favoring the patriots' cause. But this reviewer can only applaud his wisdom for having restated with such skill the appraisal first offered by John Adams. This volume is thereby given double value, for it is also a fine account of newspaper activity during this remarkable period in American history.

BENJAMIN W. LABAREE

Connecticut College

WILLIAM A. FAIRBURN, *Merchant Sail*. 6 volumes. Center Lovell, Maine: Fairburn Marine Educational Foundation, Inc. 1945-1955.

This six-volume work is an impressive collection of material concerning sailing vessels of the world. In addition to essays concerning the trade carried on by windjammers, and the major ports and cargoes involved, the author has compiled a vast quantity of

statistics and facts about the vessels themselves. William A. Fairburn, a prominent shipbuilder who died in 1947, invested a lifetime of devoted labor to the project with highly satisfactory results. As a reference work *Merchant Sail* makes an invaluable contribution to maritime history. Though one would not ordinarily recommend a six-volume work to browsers, there is nonetheless an immense number of fascinating gems tucked away in his notes and comments. This undertaking makes a double contribution in that the Fairburn Marine Educational Foundation, established by the Fairburn family, has distributed these volumes without charge to several hundred selected libraries throughout the world, among which the Essex Institute is grateful to have been included.

B. W. L.

H. BURNELL PANNILL, *The Religious Faith of John Fiske*. (Duke Studies in Religion, I). Durham, North Carolina. Duke University Press. 1957. Pp. 263. \$5.00.

Dr. Pannill has chosen a subject that deserves extended consideration. No history of the American mind could be complete without careful attention to the contribution of John Fiske, a New Englander who devoted much of his life to propagandizing a theistic version of evolution. He is today remembered for his historical writing, but in his own time he was the best known exponent of the philosophy of evolution, widely applauded for his attempts to demonstrate that evolution supported religion. Essentially a popularizer, Fiske added little originality to the subjects he discussed. Yet, with the aid of his lucid style and a gift for stating abstruse matters in easily comprehensible terms, he attracted a large audience to his books and lectures. An examination of the development of his thought, considered in the light of his popularity, should help illuminate the momentous religious changes of the last half of the nineteenth century. Unfortunately, Dr. Pannill's book (originally a Ph.D thesis at Duke), while the first full-length study of Fiske's religious views, fails to rise to its opportunity.

The author's approach is straightforward. His six chapters adequately survey Fiske's contributions to American thought. After a short biography of Fiske in the first chapter, the author devotes the second to the philosophical and scientific influences upon Fiske's religious thought, while the third briefly examines his historical work. Chapter four explains Fiske's concept of an immanent deity, indwelling in the universe though not limited to it, ordering the cosmos by all-pervading comprehensible plans, among which the law of evolution as explained by Herbert Spencer stands pre-eminent. Chapter five expounds Fiske's thinking on the nature of man. By viewing man as the "end" of evolution (both

in the sense of final product and intended goal), Fiske found in evolution a theistic sanction for ethics, a proof of immortality, and a demonstration of the inevitability of progress. The final chapter summarizes and adversely criticizes Fiske's thought. Dr. Pannill concludes: "Had he [Fiske] followed the logical implications of his system his faith would have lost something of its envisioned affinity to the Christian tradition." (p. 243)

The book suffers from being too straightforward—too narrow, too unimaginative. The author chose to use only the most readily available sources for his study. He bases himself primarily on Fiske's books and magazine articles, ignoring the significant essays and lectures Fiske contributed to the *New York World*, relying on the heavily-edited printed editions of Fiske's letters without checking the available manuscripts, consulting only a few of the religious periodicals in which the issues of the day were debated. This narrow research need not have been too damaging, had the author used his material thoroughly and imaginatively. But he fails to ask the most important questions about Fiske's significance. Dr. Pannill concentrates on expounding Fiske's thought and goes beyond it only to consider his place in the Christian tradition. This is, indeed, an important question about any religious thinker and, if Fiske had been an innovating theologian, it might well be the most important. But Fiske was a popularizer, not an original thinker. He is worth studying because the eager reception of his views testifies that his writing met a felt need among those concerned about the impact of science on religion. What this need was, how Fiske's work helped supply an answer, how his writing drew upon and reinforced the work of other "liberal" religious thinkers of the day, these questions are either not raised at all or receive inadequate consideration.

The author does not give his reader a sense of the way Fiske's faith developed. Looking at the logic of Fiske's argument, Dr. Pannill can see only minor alterations in Fiske's thinking between his *Cosmic Philosophy* in 1874 and his final religious essay in 1901, and treats the various books and essays as if they were parts of one coherent system. But this concentration on logic obscures the striking change in Fiske's emotional reaction to religion. It is on this level that his faith evolved. Without considering the emotional level it is not possible to explain how Fiske collected his audience or what they found attractive in his thinking.

Dr. Pannill deals with a significant figure in the growth of American thought, but does not substantially advance our knowledge and understanding of his subject. The book which John Fiske's services to American religion deserves still remains to be written.

MILTON BERMAN

Harvard University

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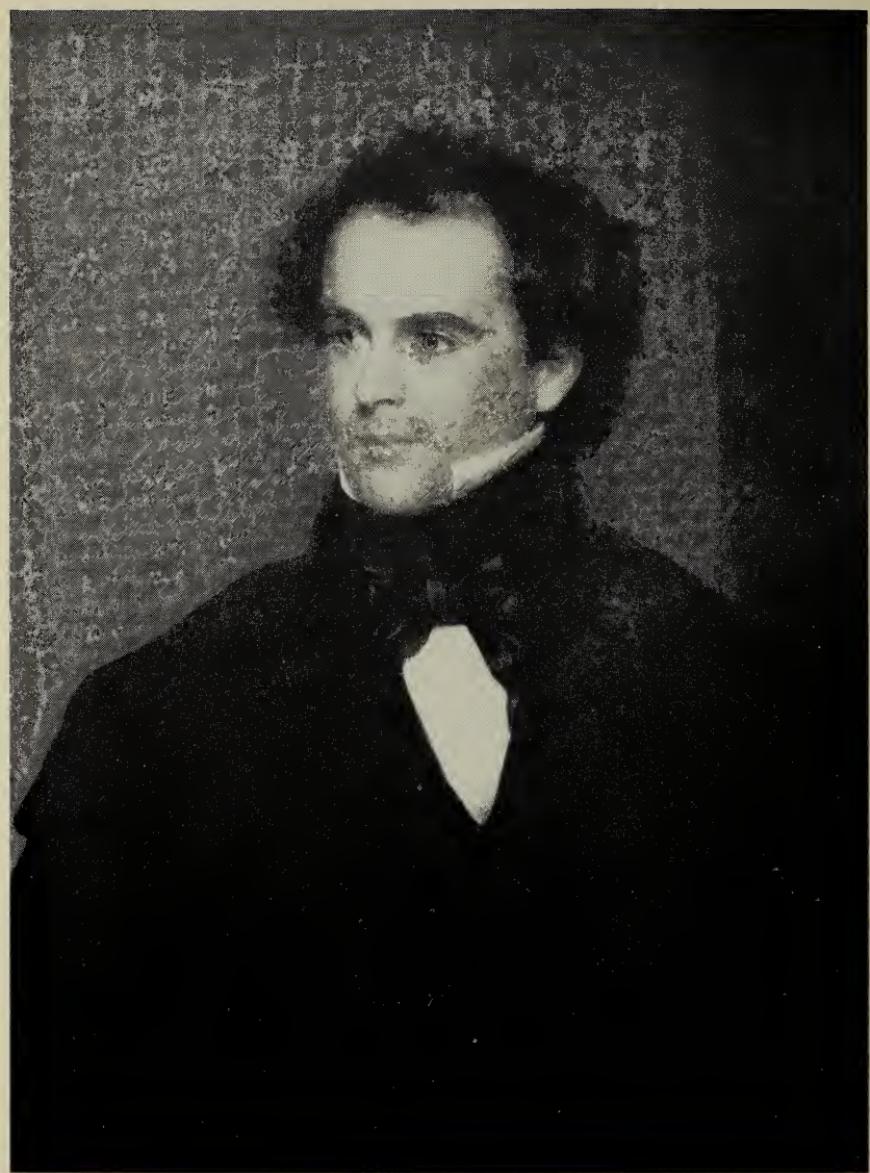
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NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE (1804-1864)

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INTRODUCTION

This special issue of the Essex Institute *Historical Collections* is occasioned by two recent additions to our Hawthorne collection. Most significant is the bequest of forty-six of Nathaniel Hawthorne's letters from the estate of Dr. Richard Clarke Manning. Also important is the purchase, with money bequeathed by Dr. Manning as well as money from the Very Memorial Fund, of a collection of twenty-three items from the Manning estate. This group of papers includes nine letters from Hawthorne in addition to letters to Hawthorne from the following: Theodore Parker, James Kirk Paulding, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Henry David Thoreau.

Professor Manning, the donor, was the grandson of Robert Manning, brother of Hawthorne's mother, and therefore Hawthorne's first cousin once removed. He was born in Salem in 1867, and was graduated from Harvard in the class of 1888. His entire life following his graduation was devoted to teaching and academic pursuits. In 1903 he was appointed Benson Memorial Professor of Latin at Kenyon College, a position he held until his retirement in 1937.

The Essex Institute is deeply indebted to Dr. Manning for enriching so immeasurably its collection of Hawthorne papers. Thanks to his two generous bequests we now have one of the significant Hawthorne collections. For conceiving and planning this Hawthorne issue as well as for contributing to it, we are indebted to Professor Norman Holmes Pearson of Yale University.

WALTER M. MERRILL, *Director, Essex Institute*

HAWTHORNE AND THE MANNINGS

By NORMAN HOLMES PEARSON

OF THE SEVENTY-ONE LETTERS, still existing, which Hawthorne wrote during the years before the publication of his *Twice-Told Tales* in March, 1837, introduced him to the public, the manuscripts of forty of them are in the archives of the Essex Institute. The two next largest collections of letters from this period have only a bare half-dozen each. That the Essex Institute should so properly be dominant for documents on Hawthorne's early life is due to the loyalty and generosity of Professor Richard C. Manning. Some years before his death he had deposited many of these early letters here. With them were also later letters and other significant Hawthorne and Manning memorabilia. All these he bequeathed to the Institute in his will, as well as making it possible for the Institute to purchase what letters by Hawthorne still remained in his estate.

The passage of time had funneled these family relics into his care. He took his custodianship of them seriously and proudly. To sit by Professor Manning as I once did, in his white frame house which made a corner of Gambier, Ohio, seem like New England, my rocking chair timed to his as I leafed through old documents and we talked about Salem and the past, was not only to be attracted by his courtesy but to be reminded of the affection for Elizabeth Manning's son that her family had shown when Captain Hathorne's death at sea in 1808 left his widow with no choice but to return with her children to her father's house. None but she had left it to marry; the rest lived together in a close family group whose lives revolved about each other.

She needed to return home. From her husband's estate, Mrs. Hathorne received only \$296.21 after his debts had been paid. When her mother-in-law died later in 1813, only a few hundred dollars more were to come to her aid.¹ For the income on which she lived after her father's death, also in 1813, and which was eventually to make possible those privileged years of literary apprenticeship for her son after college her share of the Manning estate was their single resource.

1. See Vernon Loggins, *The Hawthornes* (New York, 1951), pp. 208-09, 222.

"Everyone," Julian Hawthorne, the widow's grandson, was to write, "likes his ancestors to have been distinguished in some way, if only by their peculiarities." "The Hawthornes," Julian quoted, "were to other people what Jews are to Christians!" says Miss Ingersoll, or somebody who knew them."² Precisely what Susan Ingersoll, or "somebody," meant is not clear. The Hawthornes were not exiled wanderers, unless going to sea made them so, nor were they a group set apart from the life of the community in whose history they had played an interesting role. The Mannings might more fittingly have filled his demand for peculiarities. But Julian's attention was, traditionally, upon the paternal lineage. So was his father's, and so too has been that of most of Hawthorne's biographers, with the exception of Vernon Loggins. The Hawthorne history was a fascinating one. But more than most, Loggins has recognized the important debt which Nathaniel owed to the family of the elder Richard Manning, the one-time blacksmith.³ It was the Mannings who provided the immediate atmosphere of Hawthorne's boyhood.

The Manning's plebian origin made them subject to the condescension with which the upper classes of Salem, including what was left of the Hathorne's, regarded the family into which Nathaniel's father had married. That there was an important social distinction between the Mannings and the élite of Salem is clear. "By the time the three children of Captain Nathaniel Hathorne reached years of understanding the town was as distinctly plutocratic as it had once been theocratic," Mr. Loggins states. "The power of the ministers and magistrates of the seventeenth century was now wielded by the rich whose families had been in New England so long that little was known of their origins. Though it was trade which had brought wealth to these plutocrats, they affected the ways of the English gentry from which they claimed they were descended. . . . The class they most disdained was the second, made up of the new rich. . . . The third social order, several times as numerous as the two upper classes put together, was made up of those whom the rich spoke of as descendants of the English yeomanry. They were mariners,

2. From Julian's genealogical notes made in preparation for his biography of his parents. The manuscript is in the Pierpont Morgan Library, and the quotation is by their permission.

3. See Vernon Loggins, *op. cit.*

craftsmen, shopkeepers, farmers, and professional men with little money. They constituted a class in the town, and in political campaigns were called the backbone of the country. The modest houses in which they maintained their families were situated on such streets as Union and Herbert. Born on the former and taken to the latter after their father's death, Ebe, Natty, and Louisa Hathorne learned that there was only one class in Salem which regarded them as betters. This class, to which the majority of the population belonged, was made up of laborers on the wharves and in the shipbuilding yards, common sailors, hostlers and stagecoach drivers, the many engaged in domestic service, and at the very bottom, the colored, the older of whom had once been slaves."

Such social definitions drew the Hathorne children almost entirely into the orbit of the Mannings. Despite their occasional visits to Hathorne relatives, their father's family did little for them socially and nothing financially. Perhaps Mrs. Hathorne sought nothing; in any event she got nothing.

"'Old Captain Knights once said to Mr. Manning,'" Elizabeth Peabody told Julian Hawthorne, "'I hear your darter is going to marry the son of Captain Nat Hawthorne. I knowed him: he was the sternest man that ever walked a deck! Your father used to say that he inherited the granite that was in him, in such strong contrast to the Manning sensibility. It is such contrasts of heredity," she said, "that bring forth the greatest geniuses—when they are harmonized and put into equipoise by culture."⁴ It was this sensibility" of the avuncular Mannings and their encouragement of "equipoise by culture," which in addition to their more substantive landholdings and income from the stagecoach line and livery stable have been inadequately recognized as factors in Nathaniel's development.⁵

The Manning financial resources were of course important. If these were not comparable to the wealth of the Derbys, the Crowninshields, (in the first echelon), or to that of the Forresters

4. See below, "Elizabeth Peabody on Hawthorne," pp. 256-276.

5. The various references to the Mannings and the quotations from their letters to each other are derived from family papers which Professor Manning made available to me, with permission to quote. These papers are now in private hands. Additional data on real estate transactions, to that in the family land ledgers now in the Essex Institute, have been gathered by me from the records of Cumberland County, Maine.

(in the second) who were related to Nathaniel because Mrs. Simon Forrester was his aunt, Richard Manning had concentrated his efforts on making his family at least what New England defines as "comfortably off." He had begun as a blacksmith, it is true, but he forged ahead. Knowing horses, he established both a livery stable and the Salem and Boston Stage Company to extend their benefits. Before his death he shifted the control of the Stage Company to his sons, and its management was frequently to change hands, but a share of profits seem to have continued.

More significant however, both in fact and potential, were the landholdings in Maine which Richard Manning had begun to acquire in 1795 and which by the time of his death were said to comprise some ten thousand acres of saleable land. These holdings were originally a part of the plantation of Raymondtown which in 1690 had been granted to Captain William Raymond and sixty others, of Beverly, Massachusetts, for their services in the French and Indian Wars. This grant had been confirmed in 1767 by the General Court of Massachusetts, of which Maine was then a part; and plans for the separation of Maine (it was admitted as the twenty-third state in 1820) increased interest in the speculative possibilities of the region. "Down to Maine" promised profits that went "up." A number of Essex County individuals were involved in the garnering of land titles from the descendants of the original grantees. Among these speculators were Samuel Ingersoll, Benjamin Pickman, Josiah White, Stephen Abott, Samuel Andrews, George and Josiah Dodge, Benjamin Brown, and of course Richard Manning himself, who knew them all. Although the Manning account books for their land transactions still exist—one of Professor Manning's gifts to the Essex Institute—the constant buying and selling of plots, locally in Maine as well as in Beverly and Salem, make it difficult precisely to calculate what the Manning holdings were at any one time. Richard Manning died intestate, and his widow became his administratrix. Her husband's estate was not settled until after her death, and intervening land transactions makes the bookkeeping confusion all the greater.

More and more during his lifetime, Richard Manning had concentrated on his holdings, and his sudden death while en route to what the family called the "land of promise" was not unfitting. His

son Richard, badly crippled and dispeptic though he was, moved to Raymond after his father's death to become the local agent of his family as well as of other Salem and Beverly landholders. Another son, Robert, who was the ablest of them all, made frequent trips back and forth to keep his eye on things. A third son, Samuel, tried his hand briefly in Raymond as store-keeper. Mrs. Hathorne and her unmarried sisters made prolonged visits, and at intervals planned to purchase a farm and remain in Maine. Richard Manning, who married a local girl, built himself a handsome house at Raymond. Robert built another, less handsome but larger, in which he and the Hawthornes might live. "Manning's Folly," it was called, not so much for its cost but because it was hardly used. Only Grandma'am Manning's reluctance to leave Salem kept the Mannings centered in Massachusetts. The focus of their attention was Raymond.

Maine meant more of course to Nathaniel than the chief source of his mother's income, though each sale or new purchase of a plot was an epistolary event in the Manning household. One might well wonder whether such an emphasis on their land in Maine may not have had its influence later on when Hawthorne wrote *The House of Seven Gables* with its lost land-grant and the involved and frustrated promise of Pyncheon riches. But Maine meant for Nathaniel as a boy the chance to tramp the woods alone, fishing rod or gun in his hand; it meant freedom from the classroom and the chance to read at will and to cast the world in the images of his fancy. The experience of being so remote increased his sense of isolation and knowledge of the advantages of solitude. At the same time it gave him the beginnings of self-sufficiency which authorship demands when life is being created in the imagination rather than through action.

All these opportunities his Manning relationship made possible. There is no implication that the Mannings discouraged his early flights of independence. That is, at least, until Uncle Robert who was as near to a formal guardian as Hawthorne had, brought him back to Salem and to school. Nathaniel was the next male generation for the Mannings as well as Hawthornes. His future was important. When the boy's teacher urged that he should be sent to college, it was the Mannings who contributed together to make this possible. When, after Bowdoin, Nathaniel chose not to work

or take up a profession, there were no Manning objections to what most Salem families would have thought a waste of their money.

The Mannings were never run-of-the-mill. They improved themselves on the whole, but they did what they wanted to do. The best of them were on the way up, but they did not truckle. Richard Manning, the elder, may have started as a blacksmith and described himself as such in signing the early titles to land deals. Later he dignified himself by the classification of "yeoman," and increasingly he called himself a "gentleman" as his holdings grew and justified a new stature. Robert used "gentleman" pretty consistently from the start. But neither father nor son tried to push himself into Salem society. The elder Richard's library, as the inventory reckoned it, consisted of only fourteen volumes calculated at a dollar apiece; and he had given his children little more than an elementary education. Robert, his son, became self-educated. He read widely, and in time became a distinguished pomologist with what was said to be the largest fruit garden in America. His lengthy memoir in the *Dictionary of American Biography* is a recognition of his scientific achievement. The younger Richard, also self-described as "gentleman" when he had settled in Maine, wrote constantly to his sisters and brothers for books and periodicals. His library at Raymond was a profitable resource for his nephew; and at his death he appears to have left his nephew the many books which now bear both his signature and Nathaniel's. Only Aunt Maria's death was said to have interrupted her courtship by Joseph Worcester, the school-teacher and budding lexicographer. She could hardly have been illiterate. The Mannings were phonetic spellers, but they were not stupid because they outdid Noah Webster. What was important was that they read and encouraged reading. When Hawthorne graduated from Bowdoin, his Aunt Mary took out a membership in the Salem Athenaeum, transferring it to his name in 1828. The seeds of much of what he wrote were found in the books which the Mannings made available.

The private lives of the Mannings were marked by their sense of personal independence. John went to sea, and disappeared. Occasionally reports were heard of him, but he never returned. Sometimes the family were troubled by William's inability, or reluctance, to pay his debts; and sometimes they were troubled

that handsome Sam could find nothing better to satisfy his restless spirit than horse-trading. But Robert never "worked" in any orthodox fashion, and no one in the family thought the worse of him for it. Hawthorne's mother, like her sisters, never thought it necessary to be social in a community sense; they were sufficient to each other. It is not surprising then that no family eyebrows were lifted in the letters the brothers and sisters exchanged among themselves when Nathaniel, after college, decided that he too would not bow to conformity in establishing the pattern of his own life.

Such were the Manning relatives to whom, in addition to his mother and sisters, Hawthorne wrote in these early letters which the Essex Institute has. They reveal him in a pleasing and natural light. "Dear Uncle," he would write, usually to Robert Manning; "Dear Sister" and "Dear Mother." The earliest of Nathaniel's boyhood letters are not in the Essex Institute, and its collection begins with one written from Salem after he came up from Maine in June, 1819, with his Uncle Sam, to attend Mr. Archer's school in Marlborough Street. After the woods and the company of his sisters, Louisa and Ebe (Elizabeth Manning Hathorne), the companionship of his seventy-one-year-old grandmother, his forty-two-year-old Aunt Mary and Hannah, the maid, seemed dull to the fifteen-year-old boy.

Salem Monday July 26th 1819

Dear Uncle

I hope you and all our friends in Raymond are well. E. M's letter is received. I have begun to go to school and can find no fault with it except it's not being dear enough only 5 dollars a quarter and not near enough for it is up by the Baptist Meeting House. I am as well contented here as I expected to be, but sometimes I do have very bad fits of home sickness, but I know that it is best for me to be up here as I have no time to lose in getting my schooling. I wish when you come you would bring Ebe with you not for her sake, for I do not think she would be half so well contented here as in Raymond but for mine for I have nobody to talk to but Grandmother, Aunt Mary & Hannah and it seems very lonesome here. there is a pot of excellent guaver jelly now in the house and one of preserved limes and I am afraid they will mould if you do not come soon for it's esteemed sacrilege by Grandmother to eat any of them now because

she is keeping them against somebody is sick and I suppose she would be very much disappointed if everybody was to continue well and they were to spoil. we have some oranges too which Isaac Burnham gave Gmother which are rotting as fast as possible and we stand a very fair chance of not having any good of them because we have to eat the bad ones first as the good are to be kept till they are spoilt also. I hope you will excuse this writing as school keeps late and I have not much time. I have exhausted my whole stock of news and remain your affectionate nephew.

Nath¹ Hathorne

School pleased him no more than it does most boys. The coming of fall made term time no pleasanter. "I wish I was but in Raymond," he wrote Louisa in September, "and I should be happy. But 'twas light that ne'er shall shine again on lifes dull stream.'"⁶ Nathaniel was writing as well as quoting poetry: "Tell Ebe she is not the only one of the family whose works have appeared in the papers." (How pleasant it would be to discover these first fruits to appear in the market place!) There are no letters to define the passage of winter, but by March when he wrote his mother, reassuring her of the health of his Hathorne aunts, it was already settled that Nathaniel should go to college, to the relief of his mother who in January had written her brother Robert that she hoped "Nathaniel had given up the thoughts of going to see [sea] for some years at least." Robert in his turn had written his niece Louisa in early February that "Nathanils last Quarter will be out in 8 or 10 Days and I have no employment for him indeed in the present situation of Bussness a choice is not readily made. . . ." Nathaniel's teacher had something to say on the boy's future. At the end of February his Aunt Mary wrote to his mother in Maine: "you will like me to say something about Nathaniel, we must not have our expectations too much raised about him, but his Master

6. Earlier appearances of the texts of most of these early letters have been in various articles by Manning Hawthorne, the author's great-grandson. These are: "Parental and Family Influences on Hawthorne," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, LXXVI (January 1940), 1-13; "Hawthorne's Early Years," *ibid.*, LXXIV (January 1938), 1-21; "Maria Louisa Hawthorne," *ibid.* LXXV (April 1939), 103-34; "Hawthorne Prepares for College," *New England Quarterly*, XI (March 1938), 66-88; "Nathaniel Hawthorne at Bowdoin," *ibid.*, XIII (June 1940), 246-79; "Nathaniel and Elizabeth Hawthorne, Editors," *Colophon*, IV (September 1939). In all instances, however, the texts used by me are my own, transcribed for my forthcoming edition of Hawthorne's letters.

speaks very encouragingly respecting his talents &c. and is solicitous to have him go to College. Buisness is very dull, and Brother R. does not know what to do with him he would be glad to send him if he thought he could easly defray the expences, I am willing to put down for 100 Dollars perhaps it will be said that's but a drop. well but it's a great drop if every one of his Relations who are as near to him as I would put down as much I think his buckett would be full, but to be more sedate it appear'es to me that the prospect for his makeing a worthy and usefull man is better in that way than in any other."⁷

Such is the background for another of the manuscript letters at the Essex Institute.

Salem, Tuesday March 7th 1820

Dear Mother,

As we received no letter last week, we are in anxiety about your health. All of us are well. Mrs Forrester & Mrs Crowninshield are better. I have left school, and have begun to fit for College under Benj^m L. Oliver, Lawyer. So you are in great danger of having one learned man in your family. Mr. Oliver thought I could enter College next commencement, but Uncle Robert is afraid I should have to study too hard. I get my lessons at home, and recite them to him at 7 o'clock in the morning. I am extremely homesick. Aunt Mary is continually scolding at me. Grandmaam hardly ever speaks a pleasant word to me. If I ever attempt to speak a word in my defence, they cry out against my impudence. However I guess I can live through a year and a half more, and then I shall leave them. One good effect results from their eternal finding-fault. It gives me some employment in retaliating, and that keeps up my spirits. Mother I wish you would let Louisa board with Mrs Dike if she comes up here to go to school. Then Aunt M. can't have her to domineer over. I hope, however, that I shall see none of you up here very soon. Shall you want me to be a Minister, Doctor or lawyer? A Minister I will not be. I believe M. Louisa has not written one letter to me. Well, I will not write to her till she does. Oh how I wish I was with you, with nothing to do but to go a gunning. But the happiest days of my life are gone. Why was I not a girl that I might have been pinned all my life to my Mother's apron. After I have got through college I will come down and learn Ebe Latin and Greek.

7. Permission to use these hitherto unpublished references to plans for Nathaniel's future was given to me by Professor Manning.

I remain
your
affectionate
and
dutiful son,
and
most
obedient
and
most
humble
servant,
and
most
respectful,
and
most
hearty
well-wisher
Nathaniel
Hathorne

Nathaniel's letters continued to be written while his thoughts wandered from the pages of his textbooks to his mother and sisters in Maine. "I hope mother is not going to wear a cap," he wrote Louisa. "I think it will look horribly. . . . I am outrageously m[ad] with Ebe for not writing, and this is the last time I will mention her 'till she does write. 'Oh that I had the wings of a dove, that I might flee hence and be at rest.' . . . How often do I long for my gun, and wish that I could again savagize with you." "How does the kitten do?" he wrote his mother. "I hope my gun still remains in the closet." To his uncle in May he wrote briefly, "I am afraid you will scold at me if I stop here, but as one excuse I must beg leave to represent that I have from ten to fourteen l[ines] of Latin to parse and translate." "I went to Baker's Island yesterday, after some horses," he wrote his mother. "Caught some fish. It is a very hot day. Louisa [who had come for the summer] seems to be quite full of her dancing acquirements. She is continually putting on very stately airs, and making curtisies." Later he wrote: "I study Greek in the Forenoon and write for Uncle William [at the stage office] in the Afternoon for which I receive one dollar a week." So his life went on.

One of the hitherto unpublished letters which were bought by

Professor Manning's bequest, from his estate, brings Nathaniel still closer to college. His clerkship with Uncle William was now filled by a man from the Colcord Stables, but Nathaniel did not use the new leisure to witness the hanging of seventeen-year-old Stephen Clark who had set fire to a stable in Newburyport.

[May 15, 1821]

Dear Mother,

Please to tell Uncle Robert that his Ducks died in the shell on account of the late cold weather. I have been down to see the boat this afternoon. She is caulked, and I believe finished all but the painting. Uncle William has hired Mr. Foster that wrote for Colcord. Mr. Oliver is in good health.⁸ I did not send the last Palladiums because I could not find them.⁹ I did not go to see Stephen Clark executed. It is said that he could have been restored to life some time after his execution. I do not know why it was not done.

My health was never better than it is now.

In little more than 3 months I shall be in the land of promise. I hope it will prove something more than promise to me. I go to meeting constantly, which has the effect of an "Auctor Somni" which is [] being interpreted [] "Causer of Sleep". Aunt Eunice & Ruth are in good health, although I have not ocular evidence for it. I do not care whether Ebe writes to me or not. If she does not it will save me the postage of the Letter, which, in the present state of my affairs is a matter of the first importance. I congratulate you upon having overcome all the dangers and difficulties of Mrs. Manning's bad spelling and my bad writing.

I remain,

Your affectionate Son

Nath Hathorne.

Hawthorne's own documentation for his four years at Bowdoin, from 1821 to 1825, is based on his letters from that period, the majority of which are in the Essex Institute. "I suppose you have heard that I have entered College," he wrote to his Uncle William in Salem, who could hardly have been ignorant of the fact. "I am very well contented with my situation, and do not wish to come back to Salem this some time. . . . The Laws of the College are not at all too strict, and I do not have to study near so hard as I did in Salem. The 5 dollars you gave me, has been of

8. About six words have been inked or rubbed out by Hawthorne.

9. Additional words inked out here.

great use to me. I did not tell Uncle Robert that I had it, so that I was richer when he left me than he supposed." But only three weeks passed before he was in the usual predicament of students. "I shall make no objections to some money," he wrote his mother, "as I have had to buy Webster's *Mathematicks*, which cost 3.00, and am now almost out of cash." The months went by. He had measles, but he recovered. In May he wrote, "My dear Mother, I am happy to inform you that the Vacation will commence on the 8th of May, which is a week from tomorrow. I have not money enough to get home by the stage [she was at Raymond], and therefore hope you will send for me." Vacation over, and his mother back in Salem, he informed her that "all the Card Players in College have been found out, and my unfortunate self among the number." In August, 1822, he assured Ebe: "I have involved myself in no 'foolish scrape,' as you say all my friends suppose; but ever since my misfortune have been as steady as a Sign post, and as sober as a Deacon, have been in no 'blows' this term, nor drank any kind of 'wine or strong drink.' So that your comparison of me to the 'prodigious Son' will hold good for nothing, except that I shall probably return pennyless, for I have had no money this six weeks."

Hawthorne's other years at Bowdoin have fewer letters to recall them than this first, freshman experience. And from the time of his graduation until August 11, 1829, there is only silence so far as existing letters are concerned. Probably there was correspondence between himself and Horatio Bridge, his college friend. If there were letters, Bridge destroyed them. These were indeed the "solitary years" as they have been called, when he wrote the stories which would have made up "Seven Tales of My Native Land" if they had been published; when *Fanshawe*, his novel based on Bowdoin, was issued anonymously; a period which he could describe later as spent unnoticed "in his old accustomed chamber." "If ever I should have a biographer," Hawthorne wrote, "he ought to make a great mention of this chamber in my memoirs, because so much of my lonely youth was wasted here, and here my mind and character were formed; and here I sat a long, long time, waiting patiently for the world to know me, and sometimes wondering why it did not know me sooner, or whether it would ever know me at all—at least, till I were in my grave."

But when the silence was broken, at least for us today, Hawthorne's letter to his Uncle Samuel is not one that would indicate any unhappiness in his relationship to the Mannings. Samuel Manning was on one of the many trips which filled his life, partly to purchase horses, and on this occasion also for the sake of his health. He had been dangerously ill in October, and in June he was still ailing from what seems to have been a pulmonary illness. On August 3rd, his brother Robert had written him in New Haven: "We have no news since you left us your friends are all well—I shall direct to Newhaven—& hope you will write me immediately the state of your health & the events of your Journey—you may probably be absent longer than you Intended if so & you should be in any want of money please to draw on me & if you have any Business left which you wish me to attend to please to write & I will do it immediately—say in your letter where you intend going when you leave Newhaven that I may know where to direct you if it should be necessary to write you." It was in answer to Samuel's reply that Hawthorne wrote another of the group of letters acquired from Professor Manning's estate. (Incidentally the existence of this letter makes it possible to date an otherwise undesignated letter by Hawthorne describing what happened after he left New Haven with his uncle.¹⁰ It is an example of the value which even an unexciting letter can have in a larger context).

Salem, August 11th, 1829

My dear Uncle,

Your letter has been received, and as Uncle Robert is very busy, he wishes me to answer it. He says that there is no news, except that Doctor Robbins, of Boston, has failed for nine hundred thousand dollars. I do not know the man, but I suppose you will. All the family are as well as usual. I have seen Aunt Mary only once or twice, since you left town. She drinks nothing but sweetened water, and never offers me any porter; so that there is not so much inducement to visit the house as when you were here.

I shall have much pleasure in coming to New-Haven, if possible; and I do not at present see anything to prevent me. Uncle Robert desires me to say, that if I should be unable to

^{10.} This now-datable letter, the original of which I have not been able to find, is quoted in part in G. P. Lathrop, *A Study of Hawthorne* (Boston, 1876), pp. 143-44. Lathrop describes it as "probably written in 1830."

leave town, he will come himself. I rather think, however, that I shall not put him to the trouble.

We shall expect to hear from you soon. The family send their love to you &c.

I am, your affectionate Nephew,
Nath: Hawthorne

Aunt Mary says that you must take care of yourself and not sit with your back to an open window.

Excursions like this one to New Haven were characteristic. Then, as later in life, Hawthorne found it impossible to write during the heat of summer. Instead he travelled throughout New England to refresh his imagination. Again, it is a letter purchased from the estate of Professor Manning, through his bequest, which tells us of another summer's travel, this time in August, 1831, to Canterbury, New Hampshire, and its famous Shaker Village. Like most of the letters from this period it has been printed before, but it is so attractive an exhibit of Hawthorne's personality that it deserves many reprintings. Gossip was a good companion, as his references to the notorious murder of Captain Joseph White in Salem indicate. But the manner of his reference belies the personal involvement which Robert Cantwell tries to show.¹¹ Isaac Hill, publisher of the Concord, N. H., *Patriot* and the "Prince of Liars" as he was called by his political opponents, was horse-whipped by Timothy Upham, candidate for the governorship of New Hampshire, who accused Hill of forging documents and slanders against him. Canterbury was down the road a very short bit from Concord. Nathaniel was close to the scene of this much reported incident. A more privately Manning reference was to "John Stevens' epistles," the letters which their young Dike-cousin-by-marriage had written from the Middle West and to which Hawthorne replied with a full load of Salem chatter.¹² Hawthorne's "silent years" were silent only to us.

Canterbury

Dear Sister

It is not much matter whether you are informed of our motions, but I have no better way of spending this lazy afternoon in a country tavern than in writing to you. Your Uncle

¹¹. See Robert Cantwell, *Nathaniel Hawthorne* (New York, 1948), pp. 160 ff.

¹². Hawthorne's replies are published in E. B. Hungerford, "Hawthorne Gossips about Salem," *NEQ*, VI (September 1933), 445-69.

Sam and I reached Concord at noon of the second day, and before evening we both got into the State's Prison, and had the iron door of a cell barred upon us. However, you need say nothing about it, as we made our escape very speedily. One of Uncle Sam's old acquaintances keeps the tavern at Concord, so that it was like the seperation of soul and body to get him away. Moreover, he was surrounded by a whole troop of horse-dealers, who all seem to know him by instinct. He has already sent home two black mares and bought a gray one to drive tandem, and I should not wonder if he were to gallop into town, he at the head and I at the tail of a whole drove. The next day we set out for this place, which is about fourteen miles from Concord, meaning to inspect the Shaker village in [sic] our way. Howbeit, your Uncle Sam kept on straight ahead, looking neither to the right nor left no more than if he worn the horse's blinders, till we reached the tavern about two miles further on, where we now are. The Shakers would have given us supper and lodging and have kept us over Sunday, and I was more anxious to stay than I have been about anything in the course of the ride. In the village we met some old acquaintances of yours, Jacob Stone and his wife and sister. I bowed to him and Lois, but neither of them recognized me. The next morning I rode to the meeting with our Landlord and his daughter. I took a back seat at first, but a grave old Shaker soon came and marshalled me to a place of honour in the very front row, so that I had a perfect view of the whole business. There were thirty or forty shaker ladies, some of them quite pretty, all dressed in very light gowns, with a muslin handkerchief crossed over the bosom and a stiff muslin cap, so that they looked pretty much as if they had just stept out of their coffins. There was nothing very remarkable in the men except their stupidity, and it did look queer to see these great boobies cutting all sorts of ridiculous capers with the gravest countenances imaginable. I was most tickled to see a man in a common frock coat and pantaloons between two little boys, and a very fat old lady in a black silk gown, rolling along in a stream of sweat between two young girls, and making ten thousand mistakes in the ceremonies. There were an Englishwoman and her son, recent proselytes, and not admitted to full communion. Every man and woman (except the few who sang) passed within a few inches of me in the course of the dance. Most of the females were above thirty, and the white muslin was very trying to all their complexions. There were two or three hundred or more of spectators present, and Jacob Stone and his woman-

kind among them, they having spent the night in a Shaker house. I shook hands with him after the meeting was dismissed, spoke to Lois, and was introduced to Mrs. Stone. She is a remarkably plain woman, and I should suppose considerably older than her husband. They were to return to Concord that afternoon, and to Newburyport in due season. Your Uncle Sam took a great liking to our tavern, which is indeed an excellent one, so that he could hardly tear himself away after dinner, and the whole family assembled at the door when we rode off, as if we had been the oldest friends in the world. We reached Guilford, nine miles distant, that night. The next morning, the news of your Uncle Sam's arrival spread all over the country, and every man that had a horse mounted him and came galloping to the tavern door, hoping to make a trade or swap, so that they fairly hunted us out of town and we took refuge in the same tavern we had left the day before. Your Uncle Sam complains that his lungs are seriously injured by the immense deal of talking he was forced to do. I walked to the shaker village yesterday, and was shown over the establishment and dined there with a squire and a doctor, also of the 'world's people.' On my arrival, the first thing I saw was a jolly old shaker carrying an immense decanter, full of their superb cider, and as soon as I told my business, he turned out a tumbler full and gave me. It was as much as a common head could cleverly carry. Our dining room was well furnished, the dinner excellent, and the table was attended by a middle aged shaker lady, good-looking and cheerful, and not to be distinguished either in manners or conversation from other well-educated women in the country. This establishment is immensely rich. Their land extends two or three miles along the road, and there are streets of great houses, painted yellow and topt with red; they are now building a brick edifice for their public business, to cost seven or eight thousand dollars. On the whole, they lead a good and comfortable life, and if it were not for their ridiculous ceremonies, a man could not do a wiser thing than to join them. Those whom I conversed with were intelligent, and appeared happy. I spoke to them about becoming a member of the society, but have come to no decision on that point.

We have had a pleasant journey enough. The greatest difficulty has been a large bunch on the horse's back, which gives your Uncle Sam as much pain as if it was on his own. However, one of his persecutors came out from Guilford this morning and has sold him a gray mare which will ease the labour of the other. The people here are as different as pos-

sible from the sulky ruffians in Maine. I make innumerable acquaintances, and sit down on the doorstep's in the midst of squires, judges, generals, and all the potentates of the land, discoursing about the Salem murder, the cowskinning of Isaac Hill, the price of hay, and the value of horseflesh. The country is very uneven, and your Uncle Sam groans bitterly whenever we come to the foot of a low hill,—though this ought to make me groan [rather]¹³ than him, as I have to get out and trudge every one of them. Your Uncle Sam begins to exhibit some symptoms of homesickness, and I am greatly mistaken if we see Canada this trip, or even get a mile nearer to it than we are at this moment. Mrs. Hill, [our] landlady, nurses him up, and feeds us both [till we] are ready to burst; but you need not be surpr[ised] if you see our tandem turning down the lane Tuesday, Wednesday, or Thursday at farthest.

This is not intended for a public letter, though it is truly a pity that the public should lose it. When John Stevens' epistles are published, this shall be inserted in the Appendix.

Nath: Hawthorne.

At this point in Hawthorne's life, the number of letters begins to grow still smaller. Only three exist for 1832, one of which, to his mother in September, describes a visit to the White Mountains and an ascent of Mount Washington. It is in the Essex Institute. But until 1836, when Hawthorne was given the editorship of *The American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge*, there is nothing. Then his editorship, and enforced absences in Boston where the magazine was published, became the occasions for an important series of letters to his sisters in Salem, all but two of these letters being now in the Essex Institute. The magazine's emphasis was on illustrations accompanied by appropriate excerpts from print, or by material expressly written to accompany the pictures. Hawthorne's cuts were arbitrarily assigned to him, and he was assisted in his editorship especially by Elizabeth, whose chief duty was to excerpt material from the library of the Salem Athenaeum.

The first issue, edited by Hawthorne, appeared in March, 1836, and he continued as editor for six numbers, quitting his post with the August issue. "Concoct—concoct," he wrote to his sisters in the meanwhile. This editorship was hardly the high point of

13. This and subsequent brackets indicate where the manuscript is torn.

Hawthorne's literary career, but it was one of his busiest periods. The following letter to Elizabeth is typical. In it he refers to the presentation of a silver pitcher (which Professor Manning still owned at the time of his death) to Robert Manning by the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, "for his meritorious exertions in advancing the cause of Pomological science, and for procuring and distributing new varieties of fruits from Europe." Thomas Green Fessenden, at whose home Hawthorne was boarding at the time, was editor of *The New England Farmer*. The reference to puffing "the Puritan" was to the three excerpts which Elizabeth had sent him from Leonard Withington's *The Puritans: A Series of Essays* (Boston, 1836). These he printed in the March issue accompanied by such critically-tired clichés as: "We know of no recent work, which we can so conscientiously recommend"; "representative of the intellectual character of New England"; and "one of the truest passages that was ever written." "Read this infernal Magazine and send me your criticisms," he was to write a little later to Louisa; "To me it appears very dull and respectable. . . ." Hawthorne was not altogether wrong.

Boston, Febr^y 10th, 1836

E—

Uncle Robert cannot call on me anywhere but at Mr. Fessenden's; as I never stay at the Company's office, and do all my writing and other business at my own room—which is up nearer to Heaven than he is ever likely to climb. If he comes, he will have the pleasure of seeing Mrs. Fessenden and the gentleman and lady boarders; and that will doubtless be very agreeable. I have generally called at the stage-office on Saturdays, and shall continue to do so. Was he in Boston at the presentation of the plate?

I don't know but I have *copy* (as the printers call it) enough to make up this number; but you may extract every thing good that you come across—providing always it be not too good; and even if it should be, perhaps it will not quite ruin the Magazine; my own selections being bad enough to satisfy anybody. I can't help it. The Bewick Co. are a damned sneaking set, or they would have a share in [the] Athenaeum for the use of the Editor *ex officio*. I have now the liberty of reading there but not taking out books. I have given the Puritan an enormous puff—knowing nothing in the world about it, except from those extracts. Finish your life of Hamilton. I wish you would write a bi-

ography of Jefferson to fill about 4 magazine pages and be ready in a month or six weeks.—If you don't, I must; and it is not a subject that suits me. Say whether you will or not. In regard to ordinary biographical subjects, my way is to take some old magazine and make an abstract—you can't think how easy it is.

Nath. Hawthorne

Hawthorne's life was soon to find its center outside the circle of the Mannings and his mother and sisters. The publication of his *Twice-Told Tales* in 1837 brought him a public, his appointment at the Boston Customs House and his later period at Brook Farm removed him from Salem, and his marriage to Sophia Peabody in July, 1842, gave him a family of his own. His Uncle Richard had died in 1831, Uncle Sam in 1833, his Aunt Mary in 1841, and in October, 1842, he was to write Louisa, "I have just received your letter, containing the sad intelligence of Uncle Robert's death." There was not time enough to go to the funeral.

Say everything that ought to be said on my behalf to Mrs. Manning. Something must be done for the children. This also we must talk about, when we meet. Believe me (not the less because I seldom say it)

Your very loving brother,
Nath Hawthorne.

If he said little about what he had owed to the uncle who had done so much for him, perhaps it was with the same diffidence with which he closed his letter to his sister. If Louisa had shown the letter to her Aunt, Mrs. Manning might have taken the offer of help as his expression of gratitude. The Manning lands in Maine had by now been disposed of. There was little left for anyone; and for Hawthorne faced with a wife to support, and few assets but the debts owed him by publishers, there was even less. In any event he could do nothing for his uncle's children, expecting his own.

What he could do for the Mannings was delayed. It was expressed by his later assistance to Uncle William in 1853. Now seventy-five, the old man had followed no steady occupation after the closing of the family stage line. He lived alone in reduced circumstances at the Mansion House in Salem. Hawthorne's own

star, however, was in the ascendent. Franklin Pierce, whose campaign biography he had written, had been elected President of the United States. Hawthorne was to go to Liverpool as Consul. He was a prince of the court. To Nathaniel J. Lord, Hawthorne wrote the following letter, which passed down to the hands of Professor Manning:

Concord, May 11th, 1853

My dear Sir,

William Manning, Esq. has consulted me respecting the feasibility of obtaining a situation in the Salem Custom House. You are so well acquainted with Mr. Manning's character as an old and respectable citizen of Salem, and for many years a merchant in that place, that I need say nothing of his claims in these respects. Should it be in your power to further his views, I feel assured that you will do so, and thereby oblige

Your obedient Serv^t,
Nath¹ Hawthorne

Nothing happened. Uncle William saw him off on the boat to Liverpool. Hawthorne was reminded. Finally, from Liverpool, the prince wrote directly to court. (Did Hawthorne remember the five dollars which Uncle William had given him to take to Bowdoin where he had first met Pierce?)

Liverpool, Sept 14th. 1853

My dear General,

Mr. William Manning, a relative of mine, and a respectable inhabitant of Salem, having asked me for an introduction to you, I take the liberty to make him the bearer of this note.

Very truly
& Respectfully,
Nath¹ Hawthorne.

Gen¹ Franklin Pierce,
President of the United States

This letter too came to the Essex Institute from the Manning estate. Hawthorne's continued efforts were successful, and on November 4th an announcement was made in the *Gazette* of William Manning's appointment to the newly created post of Superintendent of Repairs at the Custom House. The janitorship took care of the moment. It was not Hawthorne's last gesture of

appreciation. On December 21st, 1855, he wrote again from Liverpool, this time to Ticknor, his publisher and unofficial banker: "I want you," he opened the letter by saying, "to pay drafts of John Dike, of Salem, to the extent of \$100, (one hundred dollars for the benefit of W. Manning, an old and poor relation of mine." It was a larger debt to all Mannings which he was continuing to discharge. But by now only one old man remained of those who had given him his chance to become what he was.

HAWTHORNE AND A GLIMPSE OF WALDEN

By RAYMOND ADAMS

Concord Feb 20th 1849

Dear Hawthorne,

I will come to your house in Mall Street on the 28th inst. and go from thence to the Lyceum.

I am glad to know of your interest in my book, for I have thought of you as a reader while writing it. My MSS. are not even yet in the hands of the printer, but I am doing my best to make him take them into his hands. In any case the MSS which he will begin with is not that from which I shall read.

I wish to be remembered and read also by Mrs Hawthorne.

Yrs. sincerely

Henry D. Thoreau

This letter¹ of Thoreau's is a prompt reply to Hawthorne's letter of February 19, 1849, inviting him to be his guest in the Hawthorne home at 14 Mall Street, Salem. Hawthorne's letter to Thoreau is in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York City. Thoreau had lectured in Salem earlier in the same Lyceum season, on November 25, 1848, on the subject "Economy," using materials ready for the first chapter of *Walden*. On that occasion the Salem *Observer* had identified him as "Henry S. Thoreau, of Concord, N. H." The paper came nearer being accurate on February 23rd, 1849, in announcing that the forthcoming lecture would be by "Henry T. Thoreau, the pencil maker and philosopher of Concord." The manuscript mentioned in the present letter of Thoreau's as being ready for the hands of the printer was, of course, the text of *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*, which was published on May 26, 1849, by James Munroe of Boston.

Thoreau's two lectures in Salem with his visits to the Hawthorne home brought about a change in Mrs. Hawthorne's opinion of the Concord naturalist. On the day of his arrival for the second lecture she wrote to her sister Mary Mann (Mrs. Horace Mann):

1. Recently acquired by the Essex Institute from the Richard C. Manning Estate.

This evening Mr. Thoreau is going to lecture, and will stay with us. His lecture before was so enchanting; such a revelation of nature in all its exquisite details of wood-thrushes, squirrels, sunshine, mists and shadows, fresh, vernal odors, pine-tree ocean melodies, that my ear rang with music, and I seemed to have been wandering through copse and dingle! Mr. Thoreau has risen above all his arrogance of manner, and is as gentle, simple, ruddy, and meek as all geniuses should be; and now his great blue eyes fairly outshine and put into shade a nose which I once thought must make him uncomely forever.²

The lecture of February 28, 1849, was clearly drawn from materials now in the second chapter of *Walden*, "Where I Lived, And What I Lived For."³ The report of the second lecture which appeared in the Salem *Observer* of March 3, 1849, makes this clear and is worth quoting in full because of its balanced judgement and because at the close it contains what is perhaps the first reference in print to Thoreau's *Walden*:

Mr. Thoreau, of Concord, delivered a second lecture on Wednesday evening upon his life in the woods. The first lecture was upon the economy of that life; this was upon its object and some of its enjoyments. Judging from the remarks which we have heard concerning it, Mr. Thoreau was even less successful this time in suiting all, than on the former occasion. The diversity of opinion is quite amusing. Some persons are unwilling to speak of his lecture as any better than "tom-foolery and nonsense," while others think they perceived, beneath the outward sense of his remarks, something wise and valuable. It is undoubtedly true that Mr. Thoreau's style is rather too allegorical for a popular audience. He "peoples the solitudes" of the woods too profusely, and give voices to their "dim aisles" not recognized by the larger part of common ears.

Some parts of this lecture—which on the whole we thought less successful than the former one—were generally admitted to be excellent. He gave a well-considered defence of classical literature, in connection with some common sense

2. Quoted in Rose Hawthorne Lathrop, *Memories of Hawthorne* (Boston, 1897) pp. 92-93.

3. It would seem that the listing of the title of Thoreau's February 28, 1849, lectures as "Student Life, Its Aims and Employments" on page 50 of *Historical Sketch of the Salem Lyceum with a List of the Officers and Lecturers Since Its Formation in 1830* (Salem, 1879) confused the two lectures. It is in the "Economy" chapter of *Walden* that Thoreau mentions student life and its costs.

remarks upon books; and also some ingenious speculations suggested by the inroads of railroad enterprise upon the quiet and seclusion of Walden Pond; and told how he found nature a counsellor and companion; furnishing

Tongues in trees books in running brooks
Sermons in stones, and good in everything.

We take the purpose of Mr. T's lecture to have been, the elucidation of the poetical view of life—showing how life may be made poetical, the apprehensive imagination clothing all things with divine forms, and gathering from them divine language.

He went to the gods of the wood
To bring their word to man.

In regard to Mr. Thoreau, we are glad to hear he is about issuing a book which will contain these lectures and will enable us perhaps to judge better of their merit.

EMERSON IN SALEM, 1849

By RALPH L. RUSK

WHILE THE FORTY-NINERS were leaving home for California, Emerson stuck to his writing and lecturing. By late December he would have a new book in print—*Representative Men*—and some weeks needed to be kept free for it. But reading lectures to a culture-hungry public could be financially more rewarding than publishing them for the public to read, and from January well into the spring his calendar was sprinkled with appointments. Most of these required little travel. In no small part of the country, however, he was already a familiar figure. He had long since found audiences as far south as New York. His recent British tour had brought him new American fame, and he would soon be wanted as far west as the Mississippi. It was not surprising that Salem was willing to hear him again. For his part, he would doubtless have regarded his engagement there as a commonplace if it had not confronted him with his former Concord neighbor Nathaniel Hawthorne.

Hawthorne, a writer but not a lecturer, had his own financial difficulties and tried to meet them in his own way. Within a few months the triumphant Whigs would turn this Democrat out of his place at the Custom House, and not later than September he would be hard at work on *The Scarlet Letter*. But in January he was still surveyor and was generously giving some of his free hours to the service of his fellow townsmen as secretary to the Board of Managers of the Salem Lyceum. In a letter dated the 10th, he reminded Emerson of his promise to lecture sometime that winter, proposed a definite day for him, and invited him to be a guest at the Hawthorne home.

Emerson replied, apparently in much haste:

Boston, 12 January, 1849.

My dear Sir,

I did not mean to come Salem, until my Boston course was ended, but to avoid troubling you with my hesitations, I will accept at once your day & come next Wednesday. Kindest thanks for your friendly invitation to your house. I am a bad guest, but if you will let me run away suddenly next morning, I will come. Yours with great regard,

R. W. Emerson.

In his current memorandum book he made an entry of the place and the date.

The Salem *Gazette* of the 16th announced the lecture for the evening of the 17th without naming the subject, but the prospective audience must have had a rather good idea of what to expect. Emerson himself was mainly concerned with the course on "Mind and Manners in the Nineteenth Century"—presumably London lectures of June, 1848—which he was just then reading at the Freeman Place Chapel in Boston.

In accepting hospitality from Hawthorne, he had wisely stipulated that he be allowed to escape early next morning. But if he was actually guest and Hawthorne host after the lecture, there was very likely some hesitant and troubled conversation between these two men who were extremely curious about each other but incapable of mutual understanding.

Their uneasy friendship had lasted for years and afterwards continued till Hawthorne's death, in 1864. As Emerson thought back over the whole history of his vain struggles to penetrate the mind of Hawthorne he was struck by "the painful solitude of the man, which, I suppose," he said, "could not longer be endured, and he died of it."

In the meantime, under date of January 18, 1849, the day following the lecture, Emerson had duly recorded in his account book Salem's \$20—not the kind of pay those hurrying Westward in the gold rush were dreaming of, but important to him.¹

1. Emerson's letter of the 12th, recently acquired by the Essex Institute from the Richard C. Manning Estate, is published here with the permission of Mr. Edward W. Forbes, president of the Ralph Waldo Emerson Memorial Association. That association owns the MS of Hawthorne's letter of January 10, 1849, as well as the MS account book and MS memorandum book referred to above. All three of these MSS are now deposited in the Houghton Library at Harvard. I am indebted to Mr. Walter McIntosh Merrill for a transcript of the newspaper announcement of the Salem lecture. Some details regarding Emerson's London lectures of June, 1848, and his Boston lectures of January 15-February 12, 1849, are given in *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (New York, 1939), IV, 80, 129. His lecturing at home and abroad over a period of many years and his relations with Hawthorne are described in *The Life of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (New York, 1949 and 1957). Randall Stewart, *Nathaniel Hawthorne* (New Haven, 1948), pp. 86-94, tells the story of the dismissal from the Salem Custom House and comments on the question of when the writing of *The Scarlet Letter* was begun.

NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE'S BIRTHPLACE:
AN ARCHITECTURAL STUDY

By ABBOTT LOWELL CUMMINGS

THE COLONIAL LEANTO HOUSE has become a familiar hall-mark of the rural New England country-side. But the gambrel roof is just as much a symbol of the compact coastal towns and cities which were the centers of our commercial wealth before the Revolution. Ship-owners, merchants, and the sea-captains as well, building to suit individual means, topped off their houses with this practical roof construction which permitted maximum use of the attic story. In the older parts of Salem these houses still dominate the scene. They stand close together, as they have since they were first built, some turned end-wise with their front doors opening into deep and narrow yards, others entered directly from the street.

After the Revolution commercial wealth again poured into the coastal cities, and these earlier buildings were crowded even more as new and taller houses were built. The Rev. William Bentley speaks often in his diary of Salem's rapid growth at this time as more and more of her citizens came to share in the general prosperity. "Building continues & many new houses are erected," he wrote for example on February 20, 1802. "The removal of Houses once a rare spectacle, is now common, & we are not surprised to find a house in the street taking a new departure."¹

Among the older gambrel roof houses which Bentley would have found when he first came to Salem after the War was a house in Union Street which belonged to the Hathorne family, as their name was then spelled. He was sufficiently aware of its existence, in fact, to note in July, 1794, "Hathorne's [house], Union street, shingled & Clapboarded."² With very few important changes beyond the addition of an ell at the rear this house has survived to our own day. Now recently, it, too, has taken a "new departure" (minus the ell) to the grounds of the House of Seven Gables. Well-known to generations of Salem residents and tourists from all over the country as the birthplace of Nathaniel Hawthorne it is altogether fitting that it should come to rest next door

1. *The Diary of William Bentley, D. D. (Salem, 1907), II, 415.*

2. *Ibid.*, p. 463.

to the house which that writer has made so familiar to Americans everywhere. The front of the house no longer faces the street, but the new orientation with the gable end ranged along the line of Hardy Street is entirely characteristic of other Salem houses of the period, and in its relationship to neighboring houses there is nothing to suggest that it has not always occupied this site.

The "great romancer" was taken from this house when still a small child to the nearby home of his mother's family, and consequently the birthplace has received slight recognition from his biographers. Very little, in fact, has been known of its history beyond the outline of title prepared by Sidney Perley in *The Essex Antiquarian*.³ The deeds which Mr. Perley quotes do not, unfortunately, tell the whole story of this house, and we must fit together a probable pattern of development based on the written record but relying also upon information which the structure itself reveals about its age.

There has been a house on the original site since before 1685. In that year on August 17, Joseph Hardy, Sr., of Salem, "mariner," "in consideration of the natural affection & love, which I have & do bare unto my well beloved son in law Mr. Benjamin Pickman . . . as also for divers others good causes & considerations me at this pr'sent moving" conveyed to Benjamin "a small p'cell or quantity of land . . . being by estimation a quarter of an acker, be it more or less, upon which land ye sd Benjamin Pickman his dwelling house now standeth & is in length north & south seaven poles, and in bredth east & west six poles, five foot, and is bounded north & south with ye land of Mr. Joseph Hardy senr. on ye west with ye land yt was formerly Goodman Jeggles senr. his land, & is now a lane [Union Street], estward with the highwaye belonging to those that live thereabouts. . . ." In connection with this transfer an ancient and not uncommon English custom was observed which lends a picturesque note: "I Joseph Hardy senr.," the deed concludes, "have put ye sd Benjamin Pickman in peaceable & quiett possession of ye above mentioned land, by delivering unto him a turf & twigg cut of[f] upon ye said land."⁴

3. "Salem in 1700. No. 25," *The Essex Antiquarian*, X, No. 4 (October 1906), 161-2. See also *The History of Salem, Massachusetts*, III (Salem, 1928), 193-6.

4. *Essex County Deeds*, VII, 43.

Benjamin Pickman, the son of Nathaniel who came to Salem from Bristol, England, about 1639, had married Elizabeth Hardy July 27, 1667. One wonders if the original house wasn't built at that time on his father-in-law's property. A few years later, on April 20, 1692, one of his wife's sisters, Hannah Marshall, conveyed to Pickman a narrow strip one pole wide and six and three quarter poles deep along the north side of the home lot, and with this addition the property acquired the shape it preserved well into the nineteenth century.⁵

Capt. Benjamin Pickman, according to an entry in the family Bible, "used the Sea as Master of a Vessel till a few years before his Death . . . Dec. 1, 1708, maintaining during life the character of an honest, friendly man."⁶ An inventory of his estate, taken in 1709, mentions the "dwelling house barn & Land Adjoining," appraised at £90, and gives some impression of the household furnishings of this ship-captain's home. Among other items there were "60 lb. family pewter," "1 brass Chafen dish," "6 Earthen plates & Silibub pott," "a Mapp of the world," "12 flagg Chairs [and] 6 Cushions," "1 Square table 1 Carpet & 6 Joyn Stools," "1 bed, 1 Couerlid 2 blankets under bed bolster 3 pillows, Curtains Vallions rods head peice & Tester," "1 Chest drawer [and] 2 looking Glasses," "a Sword & belt, a Scimiter & belt," "a Case bottles," "a desk," and "3 1 1/2 oz. wrought plate."⁷

Of the ten children which Benjamin Pickman's wife Elizabeth had borne him five at least were living at the time of his death: Benjamin, born January 30, 1671; Susanna, born February 3, 1673/4, who married John Vial as her second husband; Martha, born June 3, 1677, who married Edmund Batter; Joshua, born August 28, 1681; and Elizabeth, born September 1, 1688, who married Richard Pike as her second husband. Two of these children died within just a few years of their father, Martha in 1713 and Susanna in 1716. Benjamin married a second wife in 1704, and according to the family Bible "removed to Boston" after the birth of his daughter Abigail, February 9, 1705/6, though

5. *Ibid.*, IX, 38.

6. George Francis Dow, *The Diary and Letters of Benjamin Pickman (1740-1819)* . . . (Newport, R. I., 1928), p. 7. The Salem vital statistics report his death as Dec. 31.

7. Essex County Probate Records, Case no. 22029.

he returned to Salem around 1710 and "owned two fishing Vessels."⁸ He went to live in a house which he had bought in 1698 and which he owned until 1715 on the west side of what is now Curtis Street. "On Dec. 22, 1710," writes George Francis Dow, "Captain Pickman bought from Rev. John Emerson a lot of land on the northerly side of what is now Essex Street . . . and on this lot he built a house in 1714, in which he lived and died and where his widow and children afterwards lived."⁹ Thus he does not seem to have been associated with his father's own dwelling house after the latter's death.

Joshua in the meantime had been married on November 23, 1704, to Abigail Willoughby, who died August 24, 1710, and he married secondly on May 29, 1712, Elizabeth Nichols of Boston. He had apparently removed like his brother to Boston, probably about the time of his father's death. He "used the Sea as Master of a Vessel out of Boston," as the family Bible tells us, and is often mentioned in the Boston news-papers after 1710 though he too returned to Salem "a few years before his Death . . . in Jan'y 1750."¹⁰

On the assumption that the first Capt. Benjamin Pickman's daughters went to homes provided by their husbands his widow would have been left as the only occupant of this dwelling house which her father had deeded to them in 1685. She died in 1727 and on October 5 of that year Joshua Pickman, in a hand which was more accustomed, seemingly, to the wheel, than to the pen, petitioned the Probate Court: "Sir the astaitt of my dcesed father and mother Benj and Eliz Pickman of salem Lais unsetled and j beinge ingaged in auesell to go to see sow thatt j cant posebly administr apone ye estaitt boutt [but] desir thatt brother Richerd Pick of salem may adminst and setell ye estaitt thatt all ye funerell charges and all other chargis may bee paid. . . ."¹¹

On July 2, 1730, exercising the power granted to him by the Court to sell any real estate of Captain Benjamin Pickman deceased, the son-in-law and administrator, Richard Pike, sold to

8. Dow, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

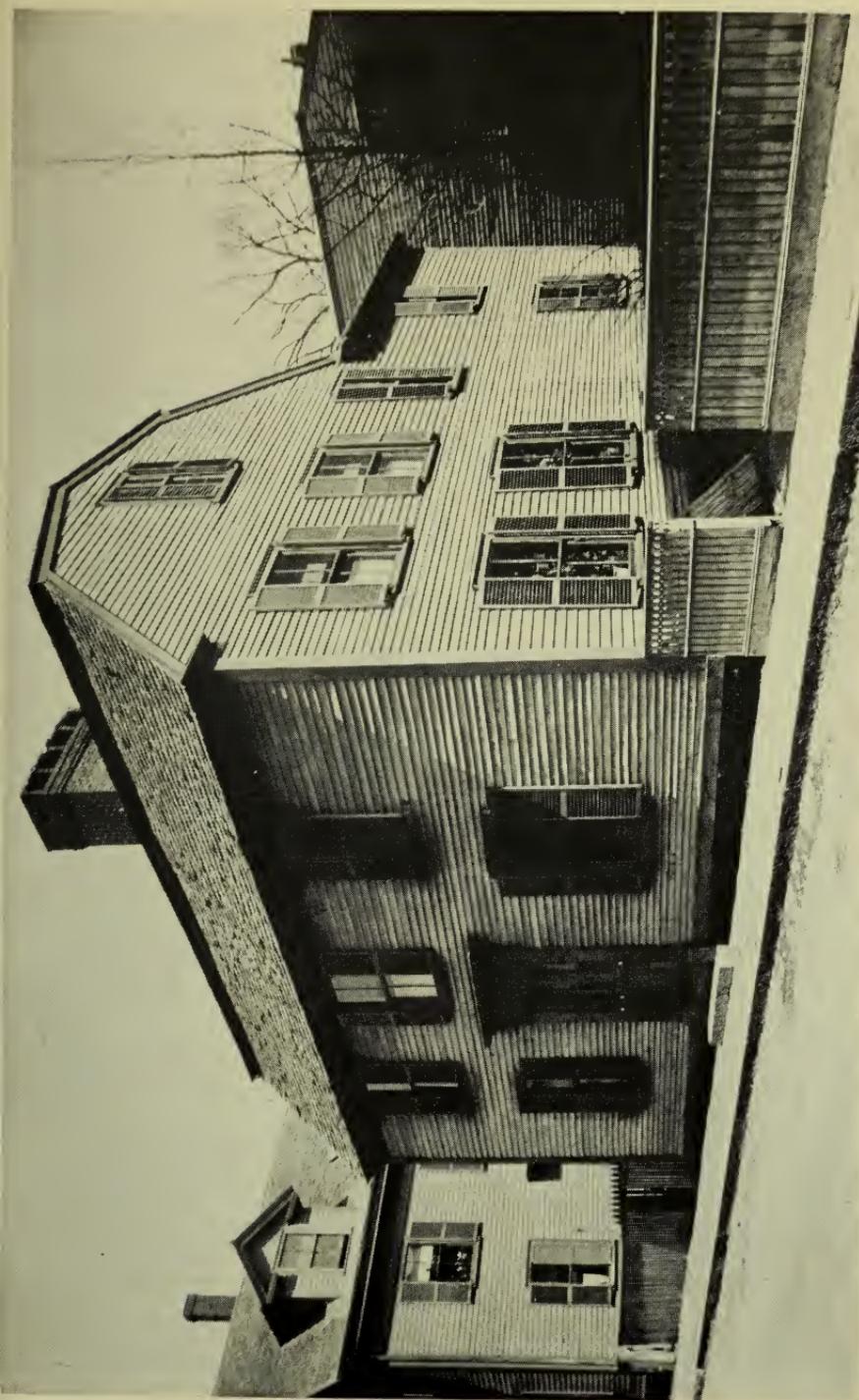
10. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

11. Essex County Probate Records, Case no. 22029. One of the charges submitted by the administrator, Richard Pike, was "For Subsisting Mother Pickman in Sickness and health Eleven Years £100."

Joshua Pickman of Boston, "Mariner," one of his father's "House Lotts" in Salem "Containing about fifty poles of Land . . . bounded . . . Northerly on Land now in possession of Jon Archer Easterly On A Lane or high Way there Measuring Eight poles Southerly on Land now in possession of Samuel Swasey and Westerly on A Lane or high Way there Measuring Also Eight pole wide . . . Together with the Buildings thereon Standing" and also "One Common Right thereto belonging as the Same is now laid out in the Great Pasture So Called."¹² The purchase price was £86. Joshua was still "of Boston" as late as 1745, at which time he was sixty-four years old, and one assumes that the property in Salem was rented to tenants throughout this period. The exact chronology is of importance here, for it is perfectly clear from the character of the present house that a major reconstruction took place about this time. As it stands today the building can by no stretch of the imagination be identified with the original dwelling mentioned in the 1685 deed. The underlying frame and most of the finish detail date rather to the eighteenth century. On the basis of style alone one might suggest a date late in the second quarter of the century. It was framed at the start as a central chimney house with one large room to the right and a narrow area behind it with a summer beam running through the center of these rooms from front to back. At the left the slightly narrower half of the house was divided into two rooms, nearly equal in size. The whole building was roofed with a gambrel of unusual width and the chimney was based upon a nicely turned brick arch in the cellar, details which one associates with the eighteenth rather than the seventeenth century.

The most unusual feature in the construction of this house can be found in the length of the end and chimney girts and summer beams, all running from front to back. These are all single timbers, each twenty-four feet long, supported at the front and rear by the corner posts, but with no intermediate support beyond the interior partitions. The most interesting feature of the frame, however, is the evidence wherever one turns of re-used material from a much earlier (seventeenth-century) house. The right rear corner post, for example, where exposed, is finished with a fine quarter-round chamfer, as is also the front post supporting the

12. Essex County Deeds, LIV, 211.



HAWTHORNE BIRTHPLACE

chimney girt of the right-hand room. Here, in fact, the fine quarter-round chamfer can be found on two edges of the post where exposed in the room itself and in the entry, making it almost certain that this timber served at one time as a summer beam before being up-ended in its present position. In the room opposite, at the left, the post supporting the chimney girt has also served some earlier purpose. It is of different dimensions altogether than that of the right-hand room, being wider, and has a simpler chamfer along the one edge which has been exposed to view during recent structural investigations. Along the upper side of this same surface are a series of gains, some twenty-one inches on centers, exactly the spacing one would expect to find for joists during the seventeenth century, and one assumes that this stick may have originally been a girt. In the attic a unit which now serves as a collar-beam for the wide gambrel roof also has the characteristics of a girt, being finished along one edge with a simple chamfer which is stopped in the center on either side of a large open mortise designed to take the wedge-shaped tenon of a summer beam.

Unless these re-used materials were taken from some other building altogether one can conjecture safely that the older, seventeenth century dwelling of Captain Benjamin and Elizabeth Pickman was taken down, probably towards the middle of the eighteenth century, and some of its frame members used in the construction of a new house. Most of the existing trim (with the exception of the modern window sash¹³) dates to this later period, and much if not all of it, including the front stairs, the fireplace trim of the front left room and the paneling of the left and right front chambers, all of which Nathaniel Hawthorne would have known as a very small child, has fortunately been preserved intact. In the room at the right the fireplace wall has been built out and a mantel of the second quarter of the nineteenth century installed (probably at the same time that the rear ell was added) but recent explorations have proved that here, too, much of the wooden trim of the original seven-and-a-half-foot opening is intact behind the later wall and that the fireplace itself has not been

¹³ A photograph of the house taken about 1884, owned by the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, shows early sash with nine over nine panes in the north end wall and six over six panes at the front.

seriously disturbed by the later brickwork. This fireplace is characteristic of those built before 1725 with straight sides, oak lintel and ovens on the rear wall, but in all other respects the chimney stack of which this fireplace is a part is typical of the eighteenth century—particularly in the construction of the angle fireplaces in the two left rooms. One must accept the somewhat “earlier” fireplace in the right-hand room as a retarded feature in a house that obviously did not pretend in any respect to be an up-to-date and ambitious model of fashion. There are other documented instances in Essex County of similarly backward-looking kitchen fireplaces in houses built as late as the 1750’s. In its finish, however, this fireplace was quite up-to-date with beaded trim covering the jambs (in place of exposed brickwork) and feather-edged paneling above which concealed the oak lintel from view. This combination of the up-to-date and backward-looking, incidentally, is present, too, in the two left-hand chambers where the chimney girt for the front room is cased and that in the rear, together with the other frame units of the room, is uncased, and chamfered.

Unfortunately we cannot, in terms of the surviving documents, do any more than suggest a possible date when this new house was constructed. When Joshua Pickman received the property from his brother-in-law in 1730 the purchase price was only £86. On June 22, 1745, when he sold it out of the family, the price had jumped to £300. It is conceivable that, living still in Boston, he had engaged for a new house to be built sometime between 1730 and 1745. The depreciation of the pound which occurred during these years could scarcely account for such a rise in the figures. In the deed the description simply refers to “A Certain Dwelling House & a Peice of Land whereon the same stands . . . containing about fifty poles . . . Bounded Northerly on land of Nath' Archer Easterly on a Lane or Highway Southerly on land formerly in possession of Sam' Swasey & westerly on Union Street (so called) or however ye same is bounded, as it is inclosed with fence. . . .”¹⁴ If Joshua Pickman did not erect a new house before 1745 then we must assume that it was built soon afterwards by the new owner of the property, Jonathan Phelps of Beverly, “Blacksmith.” At all events, with this transfer which coincides

roughly in period with the construction of the new house, the Pickman family passes out of the picture, and the more than a century-long ownership of the Hathorne family and their related branches begins.

Jonathan Phelps was the father of Rachel who married Captain Daniel Hathorne of Salem. On September 28, 1772, Jonathan Phelps, now of Salem, with the consent of Judith his wife, conveyed to his son-in-law, Daniel Hathorne, "Mariner," for £466 13s. 4d. "A Certain Dwelling House and a piece of Land whereon the same Stands and thereto Adjoyning . . . containing about Fifty poles . . . bounded Northerly on Land of Nathl. Archer Easterly on Derbys Lane so called Southerly on Land of John Webb and Westerly on the Long Wharfe Lane so called. . . ."¹⁵ Following the death of Captain Daniel, his son Captain Nathaniel continued to live here, and in this house the future writer was born on July 4, 1804. Within just four years, in April, 1808, Captain Nathaniel, who like his father had followed the sea, died of a fever in Surinam, leaving a widow with three small children. Although there is nothing in the deeds to indicate the fact Nathaniel Hawthorne's biographers have pieced together from early letters and other manuscripts that after the captain's death Mrs. Hawthorne removed her small brood to the house of her father, Richard Manning, in nearby Herbert Street, and here Nathaniel Hawthorne spent most of his young life.

The birthplace in the meantime was still technically a part of Captain Daniel's estate, Captain Nathaniel having died before a final settlement was made, and in 1816 the children and heirs of Captain Daniel Hathorne, including the widow Elizabeth C. Hathorne as guardian of her three young children, released their interest in the property to Simon Forester of Salem, "merchant," husband of Captain Daniel's daughter Rachel. From this point forward Mr. Perley gives a connected account of the later and somewhat complicated history of this property, reduced from a frontage of one hundred and forty-three feet and depth of some one hundred feet which it had kept up to this time to one of fifty-eight feet and eight inches and a depth of some forty-five feet when the property was conveyed by the executors of Simon's

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, CXXXII, 48.

will to his widow Rachel on October 28, 1817. This is the shape it maintained more or less to the present day.

In the restoration now taking place the fireplace wall of the right room will be returned as nearly as possible to its original condition. In most of the rooms the original ceilings have been concealed behind later and lower plaster ceilings, which will also be removed, and the original color scheme will be duplicated wherever possible. In the right chamber which has a finely paneled wall with recessed fireplace the original color, found under later white paint, was a rich Prussian blue. There will be no hard and fast effort, however, to make of the house a period piece. Its interest lies primarily in the historic associations and in the fact that so much of its original finish has happily survived. Any other details which have been added in the intervening years simply help to round out the story of the building's growth.

One can hope that Hawthorne himself would approve of this freedom from precision-like period authenticity. He loved old houses and wrote about them often, once, in fact, upon this very subject in connection with his own "Wayside" in Concord:

Externally the house presents the same appearance as in the Doctor's day. It had once a coat of white paint; but the storms and sunshine of many years have almost obliterated it, and produced a sober, grayish hue, which entirely suits the antique form of the structure. To repaint its reverend face would be a real sacrilege. . . . I hardly know why it is that our cheerful and lightsome repairs and improvements in the interior of the house seem to be in perfectly good taste, though the heavy old beams and high wainscoting of the walls speak of ages gone by. But so it is. The cheerful paper-hangings have the air of belonging to the old walls; and such modernisms as astral lamps, card-tables, gilded Cologne-bottles, silver taper-stands, and bronze and alabaster flower-vases, do not seem at all impertinent. It is thus that an aged man may keep his heart warm for new things and new friends, and often furnish himself anew with ideas; though it would not be graceful for him to attempt to suit his exterior to the passing fashions of the day.¹⁶

16. Nathaniel Hawthorne, *Passages from the American Note-books* (Boston, 1868), II, 71-2.

HAWTHORNE AS SENIOR AT BOWDOIN

By HUBERT H. HOELTJE

WHEN NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE returned to Bowdoin late in September, 1824, to begin his senior year, he came with such resolutions as he had not had before, one of the simplest and clearest pieces of evidence for the change being the fact that not again during the entire year did his name appear in the minutes of the executive government. No more was his name to appear among those of boys disciplined for cutting chapel or classes, for neglect of theme, for playing cards, or for frequenting the tavern, or for any other of the means which the students had discovered for plaguing the faculty. One can only surmise the reasons for the transformation. There may have been the recognition that some change had become mandatory if he was to remain in school. Possibly Uncle Robert, who had not yet paid the college bills for the junior year, had threatened to end his support. Though these factors and other smaller ones may have had their place, one can with good reason assume that the youth was motivated by a more positive principle—namely, by the desire to resume his boyhood ambition to write, and to that end to make the best of what yet remained of his college career.

But the transformation, however effective in the long run, was by no means complete upon his return to college. He was a senior now, and he possessed the superficial qualities characteristic of some young gentlemen of that exalted station on the campus. When he promenaded across the college grounds with his white gloves and his cane, his gold watch-chain in prominent view, he flattered himself that he made a most splendid appearance in the eyes of the pestilent little freshmen.¹ One is reminded of Wordsworth's description of himself as a student at Cambridge:

. attired
In splendid garb, with hose of silk, and hair
Powdered like rimy trees, when frost is keen.
My lordly dressing-gown . . .

Genius, like mediocrity, may have its early vanities before it has been chastened and subdued.

1. Manning Hawthorne, "Nathaniel Hawthorne at Bowdoin," *New England Quarterly*, XIII (June 1940), 272-3.

The senior's superciliousness, however, went still deeper, manifesting itself in ways which, if he reflected upon them in later years, must have given him ample proof of the weaknesses in the nature of man, especially when sympathy for fellow-man is lost. In the course of time he was to dwell upon such weakness in his fiction, and to give it unrivaled force and artistic expression. But let the young sophisticate, aged twenty years, reveal himself in his own words. He is writing to his sister about a freshman from Windham, Maine, a cross-roads village much like the Raymond where Hawthorne had lived. The likelihood is that Hawthorne had known Gardiner Kellogg's family, because the villages were only a few miles apart. Something may be added to the scene by the knowledge that Kellogg, who died in his thirties, was described in his maturity "as a Christian of pure and excellent purposes, . . . a simple-hearted and honest man, but not fitted to cope with or to prosper in the World."² In 1824 Hawthorne looked down upon him from that eminence which he assumed his seniority had rightly given.

I have been introduced to Gardiner Kellog [sic]. A few weeks ago, as I was entering the door of the college, somebody took hold of my cloak and said that "Kellog wished the honor of Mr. Hathorne's acquaintance." I looked round, and beheld a great, tall, awkward booby, frightened to death at his own boldness, and grinning horribly a ghastly smile. I saw his confusion, and with that condescending affability which is among my many excellences, I took him by the hand, expressed my pleasure at the meeting, and inquired after his sisters and friends. After he had replied to these queries as well as his proper sense of my superiority would admit, I desired to see him at my room as soon as convenient, and left him. This interesting interview took place before numerous spectators, who were assembled round the door of the college. He has since been at my room several times, and is very much pleased (how should it be otherwise?) with my company. I am, however, very much displeased with him for one thing. I had comfortably composed myself to sleep on Saturday afternoon, when I was awakened by a tremendous knocking at the door, which continued about ten minutes. I made no answer, but swore internally the most

2. Nehemiah Cleaveland and Alpheus Spring Packard, *History of Bowdoin College* (Portland, 1882), p. 372.

horrible oaths. At last, the gentleman's knuckles being probably worn out, he retired; and upon looking out of the window, I discovered that my pestilent visitor was Mr. Kellogg. I could not get asleep again that afternoon.³

Perhaps the saving quality of this letter is the irony in it, the recognition upon the writer's part of his own vanity. Unmistakably, in this letter, and in the reference to the magnificence of the gold watch-chain, white gloves, and cane, there is a pose, a pose which gave him no true comfort when he was alone with the realities of his character, but which revealed to him only too clearly how shallow, how wasteful of his time and energy, had been all his efforts to accommodate himself to the external aspects of college life. The class-cutting, the neglect of studies, the card-playing, the tavern-haunting—all these activities had been at odds with the solitude, the meditation, and the life of the imagination which he had known when, propped between roof and chimney of Grandfather Manning's house, the roof-tops of Salem town around him, and sea and wharfs and ships below him, he had chanted the poetry which had charmed him; or when, at night, lying on the floor of the log cabin in the woods of Raymond, he had looked up through the fireplace chimney and had watched the stars. Now, after three years of a life quite out of harmony with his true nature, he was tired of college and all its amusements, tired of his friends and acquaintances, and, perhaps more than all, tired of himself. He had no wish whatever to live his college life over again.⁴

Hawthorne was painfully learning what young Ralph Waldo Emerson, likewise an essentially solitary being, had also learned in agony of spirit: that it is difficult indeed to keep in the midst of the crowd and with perfect sweetness the independence of solitude.⁵ When these unhappy, experimental years were fortunately in the past, and when he could with equipoise contemplate the

3. Julian Hawthorne, *Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife* (Boston, 1884), I, 112-3, wherein the letter is wrongly dated 1823. The "splendid appearance" in chapel also mentioned in this letter occurred on Oct. 29, 1824. See MS Minutes of the Executive Government, Bowdoin College, Aug. 19, 1824. The collegiate had not yet added the "w" to his name.

4. Manning Hawthorne, *op. cit.*, pp. 272-3. Remarks from a letter to his sister.

5. *The Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Boston, 1909), III, 401.

aims of his life, Hawthorne drew up a statement of four precepts: "To break off customs; to shake off spirits ill-disposed; to meditate on youth; to do nothing against one's genius."⁶ Three years frittered away at college had taught him that it was his genius to be a spectator of life, and, most of all, to watch those lights and shadows which flitted across his own inward sky. The role of the worldling was not for him. Rather it was for him to think his own thoughts, to feel his own emotions, and to possess his individuality unviolated.

2.

The regeneration was marked not only by the absence of his name from the faculty record of discipline; it was indicated positively in a number of ways. For one thing, he chose now to participate in public declamation, which, in his sophomore and junior years, he had avoided at faculty displeasure. Now, though the Classical languages were no part of the senior course of study, he prepared a Latin dissertation to be delivered in the autumn Exhibition, a public exercise held in the college chapel. Indeed, his part had been assigned to him in August, before he had left school in his junior year, an evidence that he had not wholly neglected his work, but had retained good standing in at least one subject.

Since the program for the exhibition of October 29, 1824, is one of the few contemporary pieces of evidence of Hawthorne's participation in the formal college activities, a glance at it may not be irrelevant. It is offered here as it was originally planned in faculty meeting. The figures at the extreme left probably indicate the order in which the various parts were finally given. The figures at the right of the titles indicate the time allotted to each part.

Juniors

15.	1. English Oration ⁸	Little
14.	2. Disquisition. The Phenomena of Sound ⁷	Boynton
1.	3. Salutatory Oration in Latin ⁵	Longfellow
13.	4. Disquisition. Language as indicating the state of society ⁶	Cheever

6. *The Writings of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, Old Manse Edition (Boston, 1900), XVIII, 20-21.

12. 5. Literary Discussion. The influence of letterwriting on taste & morals ¹⁰	Dunn & Pierce
11. 6. Dissertation. The Federal System ⁵	Snell
10. 7. Dissertation. The instability of National Greatness ⁴	Eveleth
8. 8. Latin Dissertation. <i>De patribus conscriptus Romanorum</i> ³	Hathorne
6. 9. Conference. The power exerted in Society by talents & wealth ⁷	Bradford & Wyman
3. 10. Conference. Printing in its effect on learning, liberty, and religion ⁹	Bacon, Kineman & Sawtelle
To Soph.	
9. 11. Dissertation. The character of Cromwell ⁴	Sawyer
7. 12. Dissertation. The miseries (of) authors by profession ⁴	Apthorp
5. 13. Dissertation. The death of Socrates ⁴	Sherman
4. 14. Conference. The state of Society at Athens and Sparta ⁶	Gilman & Rowe
2. 15. Conference. The reigns of Nero & Marcus Antoninus ⁵	Farrar & Hilliard

Longfellow and Hawthorne, it is obvious, were accounted the best Latin scholars in their class, though the higher honor seems to have been Longfellow's. At any rate, Longfellow was always to remember his classmate's graceful and poetic translations from the Roman authors.⁷ Why Hawthorne was assigned the shortest part on the program remains untold. From the perspective of time it might seem that the part given to the boy who immediately preceded him, "The Miseries of Authors by Profession," had better been given to Hawthorne than to Apthorp; but in the summer of 1824 Apthorp, in the eyes of the faculty, appeared to be the more

7. George Parsons Lathrop, *A Study of Hawthorne* (Boston, 1876), III.

talented and promising as a writer.⁸ His "Confessions of a Country Schoolmaster" published while he was yet at Bowdoin, carried his reputation beyond the walls of his college, and provided him, in a libel suit which followed its publication, with some acquaintance with his exhibition subject. Hawthorne, who had already reflected on this topic in the pages of his *Spectator*, and who was to learn still more about it in years to follow, may have remembered his classmate's essay when, years later, he gave classic expression to the theme in "The Devil in Manuscript." But in 1824 his time was still to come.

Hawthorne's new diligence was manifested, also, in the assurances he gave in the letters written to the family at home. To his sister, after a long silence in his correspondence, he explained that his negligence had not been occasioned by suspension or expulsion, over the threat of which in an earlier year she had twitted him. To his Aunt Mary Manning, in whose behalf he had once facetiously advertised for a husband in the pages of the *Spectator*, he apologized for the brevity of his letter as due to his preoccupation with his studies. He was keeping excellent fires on these winter days, and never stirred from them except when it was absolutely necessary. He was now, as in his junior year, rooming alone, the only student in the house, and so could, when he wished, study undisturbed.⁹

Incidentally, in his letter to Aunt Mary, he reveals that whatever was the source of his new determination, it was not supported by religious emotions, for though he mentions a religious revival on the campus and in the town, he confesses that his regard for truth compels him to say that he has had no part in it. Unlike his friend Pierce, his strength was not attained through a kneeling in prayer. Neither in college nor in later life was formalism in religion to have any appeal to him. Though he was always deeply religious, his religion, apart from his conduct, received expression only in meditation or in quiet communion with that unseen power which he regarded as guiding human affairs.

Of the specific nature of his religious emotions while he was at college, however, there is but a glimpse. One moonlit summer

8. Cleaveland and Packard, *op. cit.*, pp. 333-4.

9. He roomed and boarded with the A. Dunning family on Federal Street, opposite the home of Prof. Cleaveland.

night when he and his friend Horatio Bridge had sauntered down Maine Street to where the bridge crossed the Androscoggins, and where the tumultuous river glistened and made the night sublime, the boys paused to enjoy the scene. It was an occasion to lift the spirit and to evoke the ideal, an occasion for such confidences as perhaps only youth can know. Into Bridge's mind came the colloquy of Jessica and Lorenzo in the fifth act of *The Merchant of Venice*:

" . . . in such a night as this"

Bridge quoted the words, and Hawthorne responded by speaking some verses which he had himself composed in his pre-college days. If they are not even promising verse, they are nevertheless indicative of the warmth with which the religious sentiments of his early boyhood had been preserved. Beneath the college sophistication with which he cloaked his sensitiveness, lay the sentiments voiced in the boyish writings of the *Spectator*, sentiments from which he never really parted. In boyhood, youth, and maturity, though the shadings might alter, he always retained faith in the immortality of man.

We are beneath the dark blue sky,
And the moon is shining bright
Oh, what can lift the soul so high
As the glow of a summer night,
When all the gay are hushed to sleep,
And they who mourn forget to weep
Beneath that gentle light?

Is there no holier, happier land
Among those distant spheres,
Where we may meet that shadow band,
The dead of other years,
Where all the day the moonbeams rest,
And where at length the souls are blest
Of those who dwell in tears?

Oh, if the happy ever leave
The bowers of bliss on high
To cheer the hearts of those who grieve,
And wipe the tear-drops dry,
It is when moonlight sheds its ray,
More pure and beautiful than day,
And earth is like the sky.¹⁰

10. Horatio Bridge, *Personal Recollections of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (New York, 1893), pp. 35-36.

3.

But though Hawthorne in his senior year had resumed that diligence in study which had characterized him under the tutorage of Dr. Oliver in Salem, he was by no means confident of his ultimate success as a student or of the mark that he would make in after-college life. Near the end of the year, after he had been visited at Brunswick by his uncle John Dike (who had married Priscilla, a younger sister of Hawthorne's mother), he was displeased by the praise in the report of him which Uncle John had made at home:

I am not very well pleased (he wrote his sister Elizabeth) with Mr. Dike's report of me. The family had before conceived much too high an opinion of my talents, and probably formed expectations which I shall never realize. I have thought much upon the subject and have finally come to the conclusion that I shall never make a distinguished figure in the world, and all I hope or wish is to plod along with the multitude. I do not say this for the purpose of drawing any flattery from you but merely to set Mother and the rest of you right, upon a point where your partiality has led you astray. I did hope that Uncle Robert's opinion of me was nearer the truth, as his deportment toward me never expressed a very high estimation of my abilities.¹¹

If the senior's letter indicates anything other than a passing mood, it indicates the recurring uncertainty in Hawthorne's mind of the degree of his attainment, or of his wish for distinction. Once, after his name had first been praised in public print, he wrote among his diary notes, "In this dismal chamber FAME was won." Still, when his work was all behind him, and when he had received the acclaim of the world, he yet doubted his literary immortality. To Emerson, his friend of more than twenty years, he expressed his doubt one day when Emerson found him pacing his wood-path on the hill above Wayside: "This path," said Hawthorne, "is the only remembrance of me that will remain."¹²

Perhaps the modest young man, in spite of his protest to the contrary, was secretly ambitious. Perhaps, like that of the hero of his first novel, his inmost heart, if it could have been laid open, would have revealed a dream of undying fame.¹³ But, if so, he

11. Manning Hawthorne, *op. cit.*, pp. 276-7.

12. Emerson's *Journals*, X, 40.

13. *Writings*, XVI, 26 (Fanshawe).

was discreet in keeping that dream hidden in the recesses of his private thoughts, for the truth was that he had as yet no substantial basis for any claims to fame. He had not even distinguished himself in college. Though he had finally recovered himself after largely wasting three years, he was to graduate not above the middle of his class.¹⁴ Furthermore, most of such efforts as he had made to open an intercourse with the world through the medium of authorship had met only with apparent failure and near frustration.

But in thus imaginatively thinking of himself as plodding forever along with the multitude, never rising above the average, he had entered an area of reflection to which he was to give artistic form in later years. Such plodding, he was to see, is not necessarily failure. The youthful hero and heroine of "The Great Carbuncle" achieved happiness when they had learned not again to desire more light than all the world might share with them. Uncle Venner of *The House of the Seven Gables*, who attained the best of philosophies because his had not a drop of bitterness in it, was, in the eyes of the world, only a mellow, quiet, and simple old man.

4.

Of how Hawthorne's college mates regarded their contemporary, little that is not retrospective can be said. No letters or remarks of the day seem to have been preserved. As for the later comments, they are perhaps inescapably blurred by time or colored by the writer's intervening celebrity, so that fact and legend may seem indistinguishable. Yet they are the best evidence available, their recurring themes and points of view suggesting a common denominator of truth.¹⁵

That Hawthorne was not the complete scholar, as was his classmate Henry Longfellow, was obvious to his companions. Rather, he was regarded as one of the laggards of his class, who

14. Bridge, *op. cit.*, p. 33, says that Hawthorne stood eighteenth in his class of thirty-eight.

15. The views of Hawthorne's classmates are from Cleaveland and Packard; George Thomas Packard, "Bowdoin College," *Scribner's Monthly*, May 1876; Charles Lewis Slattery, "Brunswick and Bowdoin College," *New England Magazine*, December 1891; various clippings in the J. S. C. Abbott Scrapbook, Bowdoin College Library; and George Lowell Austin, *Henry W. Longfellow* (Boston, 1888), pp. 68-69.

utterly neglected some of the required studies, and who often, in the student language of the day, "took a dead" in his recitations, though, at the same time, he was admired for the clarity and elegances of his translations from the Latin—by teacher as well as by students. That he was a constant reader was also generally observed. In spite of the card-playing and tavern episodes, he was remembered as shy and retiring, a quiet if not wholly silent fellow, who apparently took little pleasure in the boisterous jollity of other students, and who was distinguished by his modest address and by the soft tone of his voice. Naturally reserved, he formed few intimacies. Most frequently he was alone, though it was noted that his chosen friends were Jonathan Cilley and Horatio Bridge and Franklin Pierce, with the last of whom he was remembered as often strolling down the campus arm in arm.

That he was solitary and pensive seems a clear memory of him. Though present in scenes of student merriment, with an evident relish of the fun, he sat quietly by, speaking scarcely a word. What his private thoughts were all the while, no one knew, for no one could read him, and he himself did not tell. It was felt that he dwelt in unrevealed recesses which even his most intimate friends were never permitted to penetrate. Cilley, whom Hawthorne regarded almost as an older brother, and who, as Hawthorne himself said, had a special talent of sympathy which enabled him to understand human nature in all its varieties, confessed his inability to pierce his friend's shyness. Cilley's statement, particularly since it was less dependent upon a long memory than were the other extant reminiscences, and particularly because of Cilley's closeness to Hawthorne, is probably our best evidence of this fundamental aspect of Hawthorne's youthful character. "I love Hawthorne" said Cilley; "I admire him: but I do not know him. He lives in a mysterious world of thought and imagination which he never permits me to enter."¹⁶

In youth, then, and even after his death, he was so remembered. Years after Hawthorne lay beneath his simple gravestone in Sleepy Hollow cemetery, in Concord, his schoolmate Longfellow recalled his unfathomableness. "Hawthorne often came into this room," said Longfellow, "and sometimes he would go there behind the window curtains, and remain in silent reverie the whole

16. Cleaveland and Packard, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

evening. No one disturbed him; he came and went as he liked. He was a mysterious man."¹⁷

The mystery in which the youthful Hawthorne dwelt included an area of which his college mates were aware, though hardly one, it seems, had anything but the most hazy comprehension of their companion's real aspiration. In after years, indeed, they saw that even in college he gave promise of what he was one day to do; but at the time most of those who noticed at all merely observed that his themes were well-chosen and specially commended by his teachers, particularly Prof. Newman, who, some years before, had taken the freshman into his own home when the boy had had the measles. So pleased, in fact, was the professor with his student's compositions, that he often read them at home to his wife or friends. Some remembered how, with diffidence and averted look, Hawthorne would present to his teacher such a composition as no other man in his class could equal. However, if there were some who understood that their classmate intended one day to be a writer of romance, none, from the evidence at hand, could anticipate his later remarkable development and enduring fame. The Bowdoin students who seemed most confident of their careers and most assured of success as writers were Leonard Apthorp and Henry Longfellow, both of whom, before their graduation, were known as writers beyond the narrow confines of the Bowdoin campus, especially Longfellow, whose poems, essays, and book reviews appeared in publications in Portland, Boston, and Philadelphia.¹⁸

As for Longfellow, he was very different from Hawthorne, for he was not enveloped in any atmosphere of mystery; nor was he restrained by shyness. His parents, his teachers, his college mates—all those who knew him—knew that he aspired to authorship and was already publishing frequently in the public journals in his senior year. Younger than Hawthorne by three years, he was nevertheless the more mature. For one thing, he had had the advantage of living in a prosperous and cultured home, where he was stimulated by both mother and father, so that he not only felt more at home in the world than did Hawthorne, but was encouraged

17. Samuel Longfellow, *Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow* (Boston, 1891), III, 357.

18. Lawrence Thompson, *Young Longfellow*, (New York, 1938), pp. 55-73.

to exercise his talents. By native inclination, probably, and certainly through the inducements of his advisors, he early learned to attune his ear to the popular likings in literature. When, for instance, the editor of the *United States Literary Gazette* of Boston advised young Longfellow to model his writing after that of Washington Irving's "Broken Heart" in *The Sketch Book*,¹⁹ he was giving him, doubtless, good advice on how to make an immediate success, though in the long run such counsel was poor enough, for "The Broken Heart" represented the excellent Irving at his sentimental worst.

Hawthorne, constituted as he was, could hardly hope for the early recognition which encouraged young Longfellow to even further efforts to attain prominence. The fatherless home in Salem, the very modest means of his mother, the habits of solitude acquired at Raymond—these and other factors contributed toward a limited experience with the world and to a late development of maturity, though perhaps the greatest factor was his own inexplicable nature. He seems to have had no inclination to seek popularity, to yield himself to the prevailing winds. What he sought, apparently, was as yet only imperfectly conceived in his own mind; but whatever it was to be, it must be shaped essentially from within and not from without. If, for example, he was to model himself after Washington Irving (as he did), he was only to adopt the outward form of tale or sketch; the life-giving spirit within was wholly his own.

And Hawthorne *was* shy—was reluctant to reveal his ambition, reluctant to show to the world anything that he had done until he had done his best, well recognizing, it seems, that his talent required a slow and long development. In college, though he stood out as a writer in his class, to only one of his classmates, apparently, did he disclose his wish to become a writer. Only to Horatio Bridge, who was himself without literary talent or ambition, did he unburden himself regarding the otherwise secret promptings of his heart. The dedication of *The Snow-Image* to Bridge is, after all, ample evidence that it was while at college that Hawthorne cast the die that irretrievably made him an author, and that to Bridge he had confided his aims to do so.

It must have been not only his aims, however, that he revealed

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 356-7.

to Bridge; for the latter could hardly have prophesized that his friend was to be a writer of fiction by profession unless Hawthorne had already actually tried his hand at such writing. While he was keeping those excellent fires from which he did not stir, as he had told his aunt Mary, one can reasonably assume that he was not only diligently pursuing his college studies, but that he was once again, as in the days of the *Spectator*, assuming the role of author. Bridge must have seen some of these products of Hawthorne's pen, though, unhappily, in his book of recollections, he records no such memory. That book, however, appeared when Bridge was, almost unbelievably, eighty-seven years of age, and when the events of which he wrote from memory had occurred nearly seventy years before! It is no wonder, then, that he wrote only in the most general terms of that which Hawthorne had written so clearly and enthusiastically forty-two years earlier when he dedicated *The Snow-Image* to Bridge.

The problem, in short, of when Hawthorne began to write with the hope of publication, is inescapably fraught with some perplexities, and, though the doubt is probably the lesser weight of the scales, there is little to be gained by concealing the degree of the uncertainty. In 1865 or thereabouts, Hawthorne's sister Elizabeth, in letters written to a niece, remarked that, in the summer of 1825 (Hawthorne graduated on Sept. 8, 1825), her brother had showed her a group of manuscript stories bearing the title "Seven Tales of My Native Land," one of which, a tale of witchcraft, was entitled "Alice Doane," and another "Susan Grey." He told her, too, that he had made progress on his novel (presumably *Fanshawe*), which he would try to publish before the arrangements for bringing out the tales were completed.²⁰ All these details would make it clear that Hawthorne had been writing a great deal indeed in his senior year if not even somewhat before. Unhappily, however, Elizabeth beclouded the issue when, five or six years later, in a letter to James T. Fields, Hawthorne's last publisher, she said that the "Seven Tales" had been written after her brother had left college.²¹ Quite obviously, these two statements do not agree, though, other things being equal, the earlier

20. Julian Hawthorne, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

21. Randall Stewart, "Recollections of Hawthorne by His Sister Elizabeth," *American Literature*, XVI (January 1945), 316-331.

memory is probably the more reliable. But other evidence is perhaps necessary to produce a greater certainty.

Such evidence there is. When, for instance, Hawthorne's son-in-law, George Parsons Lathrop, wrote his *Study of Hawthorne* (1876), he assumed that the "Seven Tales" were written after the venture of *Fanshawe* (published in 1828). However, in recounting the difficulties met in finding a publisher for the tales, Lathrop told the story of the young Salem printer, Ferdinand Andrews, who promised to undertake the work, but who delayed so long that Hawthorne, exasperated, recalled the manuscript, and to the chagrin of Andrews, burned it. Beyond any doubt, this anecdote is dated incorrectly, for the young printer, who had begun business in Salem in 1823, had already left town in 1826, a considerable while before the publication of *Fanshawe*.²² Hence it seems certain, from this evidence, that the tales were written first—and written, moreover, while Hawthorne was still at college.

From Hawthorne himself, before his name had appeared in print and while the matter must still have been relatively fresh in his mind, there is more evidence which should further allay doubt. In "Alice Doane's Appeal," as published in *The Token* (an annual or gift-book) in 1835,²³ he remarks that this tale is one of a series that he had written "years ago." Of this series, three or four "after a long time and numerous adventures," appeared *The Token*. "One great heap" meant to delight the world and endure for ages, he burned—"Alice Doane" and one other tale (unnamed) escaping from this fate only because, at the time, they were in kinder custody than his own. Since Hawthorne was already contributing to *The Token* as early as 1830,²⁴ there

22. Lathrop, *op. cit.*, p. 135. Andrews was sole owner of the *Salem Gazette* from 1823 to April 1, 1825, and half owner from 1825 to October 1, 1826, when he removed from Salem. See Harriet S. Tapley, *Salem Imprints, 1768-1825, A History of the First Fifty Years of Printing in Salem* (Salem, 1927), p. 93. Also the *Gazette*, May 18, 1883, in an obituary of Andrews.

23. Hawthorne was writing not later than 1834, since the matter for *The Token* was gathered the year previous to the publication date.

24. "The Young Provincial," unsigned in *The Token* of 1830, is unmistakably Hawthorne's. The death of the young English officer is retold in very similar language in *Septimus Felton*. Furthermore Hawthorne's letter to Goodrich of December 20, 1829, indicates that the latter had then in his hands for *The Token* a story by Hawthorne, obviously "The Young Provincial."

could scarcely have been "a long time and numerous adventures" between 1830 and the date subsequent to 1828 when Lathrop supposed the "Seven Tales" were written.

But there is still additional evidence. That Hawthorne was not merely reminiscing idly when he wrote of the "long time and numerous adventures" of "Alice Doane" before its publication is a fact proved by his letter to Samuel G. Goodrich, editor of *The Token*, a letter dated at Salem, Dec. 20, 1829.²⁵ "Alice Doane," together with several other tales already in Goodrich's hands, he remarks, "have been completed a considerable time;" that is, one may infer with assurance they had already had their "numerous adventures," including the long and unbearable delay of Ferdinand Andrews. That Hawthorne should thus early have written with an eye to publication is not at all astonishing. His sister, Maria Louisa, his junior by four years, was already contributing verse to the Salem newspapers in 1828. Sister Elizabeth, the oldest of the three, had preceded with such contributions long before that date. Hawthorne himself, in 1819, wrote, with the boyish pride of all his fifteen years, that Elizabeth was not the only one whose writing had appeared in print.²⁶

One can, therefore, with conviction assert that Hawthorne began to write the "Seven Tales" and *Fanshawe* while he was still in college, there being no concrete evidence to the contrary, and all the known facts supporting the conviction. Elizabeth Hawthorne's first statement was the correct one.

5.

What the young author aimed to do in his writing—with what kind of subject matter, what settings, what characters, what incidents, and, most important of all, with what kind of ideas he wished to deal—that is surely one of the very most significant questions relating to his college life. The answer should disclose somewhat of that mysterious world of thought and imagination

25. Nelson F. Adkins, "The Early Projected Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XXXIX, 129. Hawthorne's letter mentions no title, but Goodrich's response (January 19, 1830) indicates that "Alice Doane" is in his possession, though it lacks his approval. See Julian Hawthorne, pp. 131-2.

26. Julian Hawthorne, p. 106. See *The Essex Register*, from May 5 through August 8, 1828, for Maria's contributions signed "M. L. H."

which, as Cilley, said, his college mates were not permitted to enter.

Regretfully one must recognize that perhaps insurmountable obstacles make possible only such an answer as is burdened with qualifications, for both the tale of "Alice Doane" and the book-length *Fanshawe* in their present form may have undergone alterations between the time when they were written in college and when they were finally published. Such is unmistakably the case as it relates to "Alice Doane," which, in its allusions to Charles W. Upham, the historian who "has treated the subject (of witchcraft) in a manner that will keep his name alive," must have been revised subsequent to 1831, the date of Upham's "Lectures on Witchcraft," which preceded his authoritative volumes, *Salem Witchcraft*. What other alterations the tale underwent, it may be impossible to say, though its patchwork character seems obvious. As for *Fanshawe*, though there are no such apparent changes in it, one's scruples, at least, will suggest the possibilities of alterations—induced by the author's growing maturity—between the period in which it was written and the date, three years later or more when it was finally published at the author's own expense. But, having made allowances for these uncertainties, which may, after all, not be so great as one might conjecture, one can be fairly certain that in these two pieces of writing there are revealed the gradually clearing outlines of the young author's interior world.

To begin with the earlier of the two, "Alice Doane." As already said, in its present form it seems a patchwork; at least its structure,—its frequent and abrupt transitions, its total concept of organization,—gives hardly a hint of that unsurpassed unity which Edgar Allan Poe was later to praise so highly as evidence of Hawthorne's literary genius. The author represents himself, accompanied by two young women (probably his sisters) taking a walk up Gallows Hill in Salem, where, in the seventeenth century, the supposed witches were hanged. At the very spot where the uncoffined bodies presumably had been unceremoniously buried, he reads to his feminine auditors his story of witchcraft. But his tale is interrupted by allusions to the present scene, and, instead of being read directly from the manuscript in his hands, is awkwardly paraphrased. Whatever the intent, the effect is jaggedly created.

The story, however, is not without its considerable merit. The scene in the burying ground, where, in the winter moonlight, under starshine and the glare of northern lights, the barren trees and ground covered by shining ice, the dead rise in ghost-like form, all possessed by false and evil spirits—this is indeed a weird and haunting scene. If it lacks substance or relevance to substantial thought, so that it suggest a skillful play of fancy rather than a functioning of the imagination, it is nevertheless presented in phrases that a mature hand might envy.

Such was the apparition, though too shadowy for language to portray; for here would be the moonbeams on the ice, glittering through a warrior's breastplate, and there the letters of a tombstone, on the form that stood before it; and whenever a breeze went by, it swept the old men's hoary heads, the women's fearful beauty, and all the unreal throng, into one indistinguishable cloud together.

Even when the writer turns from this play of fancy to a statement of the historical facts out of hoary and cruel antiquity to picture the dread procession of the victims up Gallows Hill on their way to martyrdom and eternity, he writes with beauty, and, furthermore, with power. In these concluding paragraphs, as in some of the earlier ones, in spite of an unfortunate want of total effect, there is an ample prophecy of a mastery of no small magnitude.

But what was the author's aim in the use of such material? His general aim was one which his own family tradition, the history of Salem, and the stirrings in the literary atmosphere of the time all prompted him to adopt. When the Bowdoin student, Leonard Apthorp, had made something of a sensation with his "Confessions of a Country Schoolmaster," it was because he had interested his readers by the use of subject matter chosen from life that they and he himself knew. At Bowdoin, too, young Longfellow was eager for the day when America might have a literature truly indigenous, as his commencement oration, "Our Native Authors," clearly indicates. He, and perhaps Hawthorne also, had been encouraged to participate in the creation of such a literature by their young college professor, Thomas Cogswell Upham, who had been brought to Bowdoin in 1824 to refute the infidelities of Kant, but who may have exercised his greatest influence

through his *American Sketches*, with its plea for a commemoration in literature of the glories of our native country. However that may be, it was at Bowdoin, in a corner of the college library, "bestrewn with venerable dust," that Hawthorne came upon the verse of Thomas Green Fessenden, in whose home, a decade or more later, he was for a time to live. Fessenden, while a student at Dartmouth, had astonished his teacher and classmates when, one day, instead of presenting a composition characterized by "the lack of native thought and feeling, the cold pedantry, the mimicry of classic models, common to all such productions," he read to his class his "Country Lovers; or Mr. Jonathan Jolthead's Courtship with Miss Sally Snapper," which Hawthorne, when it came to his notice, regarded as an original and truly Yankee effusion, a volume of such writing, had Fessenden but continued in this strain, surely winning him a permanent place in American literature. Doubtless Hawthorne was excited by this new but increasing common interest in the exploitation of American life in American letters.

In the "Seven Tales of My Native Land," then, and specifically in "Alice Doane," it was his endeavor, for one thing, to represent in the drama of fiction our ancient superstitions as they were embodied in tales of witchcraft, in the witchcraft in which his own ancestors had so ignominiously figured, and in the legends of which he had been steeped since childhood, his interest increased and his knowledge augmented by much reading. It was an endeavor to which he devoted himself in such early fumbling efforts as "Alice Doane," as well, also, as in the unsurpassed artistry of "The Hollow of the Three Hills" and "Young Goodman Brown," in all of which, through the magic of art, the ugly and the terrible are transformed into a dark yet glowing beauty. The theme and the skill, of course, were to reach their climax in *The Scarlet Letter* and in *The House of the Seven Gables*. But while they were yet only incompletely conceived in the dream of the senior collegiate, no wonder that communication with his fellows was difficult for him, or that his companions thought of him as dwelling in unrevealed recesses.

In *Fanshawe*, as in two of his mature pieces of writing, *The Blithedale Romance* and *The Marble Faun*, he ventured into a treatment of his own day, and with a lack of success indicative

of the want of public favor experienced in the twentieth century by the two later novels. In *Fanshawe*, his first book-length story, he attempted to depict a romance at a small country college—smaller, humbler, and more rustic even than his own Bowdoin. The critics are probably right in maintaining that the book is steeped in the atmosphere of the novels of Sir Walter Scott, novels which Hawthorne loved as a boy, it is true, and continued to read into the last years of his life. Doubtless, too, the story lacks force, weakened as it is by an imitative melodrama. It appeared without his name. In later life, he would not speak of it, and wished it forgotten.

It will not suffice, however, to dismiss *Fanshawe* as merely imitative of Scott, for there are in it elements which were in the very grain of the young author and which remained an integral part of his thinking. In the character of Fanshawe he saw a type which was always to fascinate him, and which he continued to represent in his fiction with altered emphasis and in various forms. Perhaps his model was in part his classmate Gorham Deane, who devoted himself to his studies with such intensity and with such a disregard for his health that, feeble, emaciated, and sinking with tuberculosis, he died a few weeks before graduation, thus missing the honor of standing second in his class. Beyond question, also, the model for *Fanshawe* was in part Nathaniel Mather, younger brother of Cotton Mather, the inscription on whose tombstone still apprises the reader that there lies a hard student, "an aged man at nineteen years." Hawthorne had seen that tombstone many a time as he had played, as Salem boys still play, in the old Charter Street Burying ground, where he placed the weird scene from "Alice Doane" already mentioned. And somewhat of Fanshawe he must have seen in himself.

Faust-like, Fanshawe devoted himself to the acquisition of superior knowledge, in the very act of moving toward his goal, however, recognizing the emptiness and futility of his quest. He is solitary, isolated—deeming himself "unconnected with the world, unconcerned in its feelings, and uninfluenced by it in any of his pursuits." How often, in modified forms, does not Fanshawe reappear, from the detached Holgrave redeemed by love in *The House of the Seven Gables*; the minister in *The Scarlet Letter*, marching to the fateful events of his Election Sermon, so remote

from Hester's "own sphere, so utterly beyond her reach . . . so unattainable . . . in that far vista of his unsympathizing thoughts"; and in its extreme forms, Rappacini, who would sacrifice his daughter in the interest of science, or Ethan Brand, guilty of the unpardonable sin itself, "the sin of intellect that triumphed over the sense of brotherhood with man and reverence for God"! Even in the final years, when Hawthorne paced the hill above Wayside, vainly trying to give shape to his errant and uncontrollable imagination, the spirit of Fanshawe reappeared as the studious, melancholy, and unhappy Septimius Felton. No Rousseau, no Coleridge, no Emerson ever looked with more distrust at intellect unassuaged by the affections.

Momentarily, however, Fanshawe experiences the love of Ellen Langton, and thus feels the thrill of one of the ties that unite us to our kind. With this experience, moreover, he realizes what he had not known before, "the exulting tide of hope and joy." This is the other side of the coin. If the unrestrained pursuit of the intellectual isolates and estranges, love, in whatever form, unites, and brings such happiness as is given mankind to know. It was a conviction that attained greater and greater strength in Hawthorne's thought as the years went on, expressed in his private life as well as in his fiction. To his friend Longfellow he wrote, after a decade of literary apprenticeship and such solitude as few authors have known, that "there is no fate in the world so horrible as to have no share in either its joys or sorrows . . ." How deep within his inner convictions was this idea appears in a letter of his courtship of Sophia Peabody: "Indeed we are but shadows; we are not endowed with real life, and all that seems most real about us is but the thinnest substance of a dream, — till the heart be touched. That touch creates us, — then we begin to be, — thereby we are beings of reality and inheritors of eternity."²⁷ In *The House of the Seven Gables*, the theme is not, as Hawthorne says with tongue in cheek, the moral that the wrong-doing of one generation lives with the successive ones, finally becoming a pure and uncontrollable mischief; rather, the theme is the regenerating and beneficent influence of the affections—just as clearly as such is the theme in Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale* or *The Tempest*.

Though the beginnings of Hawthorne's mature thought may be

27. *Writings*, XVIII, 282.

found in considerable detail in *Fanshawe*, one further example must here suffice.

After Ellen Langton had been rescued by Fanshawe, all the while aware of his devotion and his hesitancy in speaking of his love, that young heroine herself makes the proposal:

Will it not be happiness to form the tie that shall connect you to the world? to be your guide—a humble one, it is true, but the one of your choice—to the paths from which your proud and lonely thoughts have estranged you? ²⁸

From this one might turn to "The Flower of Eden" in *The House of the Seven Gables*, a chapter in which the identical thought receives its most artistic and satisfactory expression. A more explicit resemblance, however, appears in Hawthorne's last completed romance, *The Marble Faun*. There, in the final chapter, it is the solitary spectator-philosopher, Kenyon, who utters the sentiment:

. . . the mind wanders wild and wide; and so lonely as I live and work, I have neither the pole-star above nor light of cottage windows here below, to bring me home. Were you my guide, my counsellor, my inmost friend, with that white wisdom which clothes you as a celestial garment, all would go well. O Hilda, guide me home!

And, lest such a concept seem but a literary convention remembered for thirty-five years, — remembered from his first to last novel, — here again is a fragment of a love-letter to Sophia Peabody:

. . . foolish . . . to have doubted my Dove's instinct, — whom, henceforth (if never before) I take for my unerring guide and counsellor in all matters of the heart and soul.

Even so small a sampling from these writings of the college senior will indicate the character of his private thoughts, which to his compainions were such an enigma. But Hawthorne himself, in the dedication of *The Snow-Image*, after *The Scarlet Letter* and *The House of the Seven Gables* had brought him world renown, looking back over some of his earlier tales and comparing them with some of the later ones, draws all the pertinent conclusions.

28. *Writings*, XVI, 180.

In youth, men are apt to write more wisely than they really know or feel; and the remainder of life may be not idly spent in realizing and convincing themselves of the wisdom which they uttered long ago. The truth that was only in the fancy then may have since become a substance in the mind and heart.

6.

In July, preceding the commencement exercises for Hawthorne's class, President Allen called the senior into his study to tell him that, though his rank in the class entitled him to a part in the exercises, the laws of the college forbade giving him such a part because of his neglect of declamation in his sophomore and junior years—an arrangement with which Hawthorne was perfectly satisfied, since the remark was a sufficient testimonial of his scholarship, and since this arrangement saved him the mortification of appearing in public at commencement.²⁹ President Allen, it appears, was aware of the recovery in the senior year of the youth who had once so heatedly wished to demonstrate his moral independence.

In July, too, or at least during the early summer, Hawthorne paid a visit at Raymond, though he complained of the coldness with which he was received by his uncle and aunt. The visit gave him but little pleasure, and he determined not to go there again. Nor, apparently, is there any evidence that ever again he returned with any satisfaction to that region which he had once regarded as a family Eden. Distinctly, with the close of his college years, his boyhood closed, too. The charms of Raymond were to be renewed only when time and remembrance had restored their original luster, and when his imagination had added the iridescence of the ideal.

After the college custom of the day, the graduating class had their silhouettes cut, to exchange among friends, and to leave with their Alma Mater for such interest as posterity might have in these fledglings.³⁰ On his silhouette Hawthorne wrote his college nickname, "Hath," thus at once reminding his present admirers that the young man once spelled his name "Hathorne," and that the first syllable was once pronounced with a short "a"

29. Manning Hawthorne, *op. cit.*, pp. 276-7.

30. Hawthorne's silhouette, with those of other members of his class, except Bridge, is in the Bowdoin Library.

and not with a broad one as now. On the day following graduation, the class met in the room of Cullen Sawtelle, where Henry Longfellow read a poem. He and Hawthorne, who were to raise their class and Bowdoin to the attention of the world, were not to have another word with one another until Longfellow, already a successful professor at Harvard and a promising author, was, by his friendly and generous review of *The Twice-Told Tales*, to help lift his classmate out of that long obscurity which Hawthorne was to know.

Commencement, on September 8, 1825, was probably not much different from what it had been during the short life of Bowdoin.³¹ It was something of an occasion in the area, for the young state of Maine was proud of its college. There were numerous visitors from out of town, who tied their horses to the wooden fence along the campus. There were booths near by, to provide refreshments—pies and gingerbreads and drinks in varying degrees of strength. Since the college chapel was too small for students and spectators, it was the practice to hold the exercises out of doors, a platform being erected for faculty and graduating class, the graduates attired in gowns borrowed from the adjacent ministry.

Henry Longfellow, fourth in his class (following Little, the deceased Gorham, and Bradbury), of course had a part, an oration entitled "Our Native Writers," a subject near his heart, though not his own first choice.³² Though it was only a boyish effort, it contained thoughts echoing in increasing volume through the land, and culminating, a dozen years later, in Ralph Waldo Emerson's *American Scholar*, the classic expression of young America's literary aspirations.

Is then (asked orator Longfellow) our land to be indeed the land of song? Will it one day be rich in romantic associations? Will poetry, that hallows every scene, — that renders every spot classical, — and pours out on all things the soul of its enthusiasm, breathe over it that enchantment, which lives in the isles of Greece, and is more than life amid the 'Woods, that wave o'er Delphi's steep'? Yes! — and palms are to be won by our native writers!

31. Cleveland and Packard, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

32. Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

Hawthorne, sitting there mute, must have listened with lively emotions, a mingling of hope and pain. He had as yet won no palms; on the contrary, though he had tried to communicate with the world, had endeavored to picture the romance of our ancient superstitions, the world had been utterly indifferent.

The orator, addressing the future writers of America (such as might hear), called for "an utter abandonment of everything else, a noble self-devotion to the cause of literature." He himself was, indeed, to devote a life-time to literature, and not without great adversity, loss, and sorrow. On the whole, however, he was Fortune's favorite, upon whom she smiled with warmest blandishments. It was the widow Hathorne's son, who had played among abandoned coaches in his grandfather's livery stable, entertained himself alone among the rustic environs of Raymond, and worried over the payment of his college bills, who was about to embark upon such a devotion to literature as his classmate fondly envisioned.

Just now, as for the past four years, he was eager to be at home again. What lay beyond his return, he of course could only dimly know.

HAWTHORNE'S DUEL

By NORMAN HOLMES PEARSON

THE MASKS A MAN MAY WEAR are many, but none seem so unsuited to Nathaniel Hawthorne as that of a hot-headed challenger to a duel. Few locales appear so unlikely as nineteenth-century Salem. Yet Julian Hawthorne tells just such a story in his biography of his parents, but he does it in so concealed a manner that the obscurity has never been lifted. Doubted by some later biographers, passed over by others, Julian's account of his father's unhappy gallantry has faded. Hawthorne's links to romantic behavior have been sketched along other lines.

To Julian, however, the story of Hawthorne's challenge was indelibly significant. "Here or hereabouts it was" he says, narrating the events of 1837, "that Hawthorne met with an experience that carried with it serious results. If there be any hidden cause for what seems the premature reserve and gravity of his early manhood, it will not, perhaps, be necessary to look further for it than this. For a man such as he has been shown to be, it was enough; and it might, indeed, have left deep traces upon a nature less sensitive and a conscience less severe than his."

The events are simple in outline. "Among the young ladies of good family and social standing that formed what were then the 'best circles' of Salem and Boston," Julian wrote, "there was one who, for convenience' sake, shall be designated as Mary While this notable personage was in the full tide of her social triumph and fascination, a gentleman, whom I will call Louis, and who was on terms of familiar intercourse with her, happened to speak to her of his friend, Nathaniel Hawthorne. The report thus given of the handsome and mysterious young author aroused Mary's curiosity and ambition; she resolved to add him to her museum of victims. At her request, Louis brought him to her house and introduced him." The introduction was successful. Hawthorne soon assumed "towards her the attitude of a protecting friend and champion,—the rather, since she assured him that he was the only human being to whom she could reveal the secrets of her inmost soul." He listened. "She summoned Hawthorne to a private and mysterious interview, at which, after much artful

preface and well-contrived hesitation and agitated reluctance, she at length presented him with the startling information that his friend Louis, presuming upon her innocence and guilelessness, had been guilty of an attempt to practise the basest treachery upon her; and she passionately adjured Hawthorne, as her only confidential and trusted friend and protector, to champion her cause. This story, which was devoid of a vestige of truth, but which was nevertheless so cunningly interwoven with certain circumstances known to her auditor as to appear like truth itself, so kindled Hawthorne's indignation and resentment, that, without pausing to make proper investigations, he forthwith sent Louis a challenge." Louis was calmer; he "wrote Hawthorne a frank and generous letter, in which, after fully and punctually explaining to him the ins and outs of the deception which had been practised upon him, and completely establishing his own guiltlessness of the charge against him, he refused the challenge, and claimed the renewal of Hawthorne's friendship."

The explanation worked. "Hawthorne immediately called upon him, overwhelmed both by the revelation of the woman's falsehood and by his own conduct in so nearly bringing destruction upon a man he loved. He could scarcely bring himself to believe, however, that Mary had knowingly, and with full comprehension of what she was about, contrived a plot of such wanton malice; and perhaps his self-esteem made him reluctant to admit that the tender and confidential conduct she had maintained towards him was nothing more than the selfish artifice of a coquette. Howbeit, Louis left his vanity not a leg to stand upon; and finally, to use the expression of one who was cognizant of these events at the time, Hawthorne went to Mary and 'crushed her.'

But who was this "creature of unbounded selfishness, wantonly mischievous, an inveterate and marvellously skilful liar; . . . coarse in thought and feeling, and at times seemed to be possessed by a sort of moral insanity, which prompted her to bring about all manner of calamities upon innocent persons, with no other motive than the love of exercising a secret and nefarious power"? And who was Louis? And what was the consequence that caused "the premature reserve and gravity of his early manhood" to which his son refers?

Julian is explicit on the latter point. "While the duel was still

a topic of conversation among the few of Hawthorne's friends who knew anything about it, one of those friends—Cilley—received the challenge of Wise. . . ." (Actually the challenger was William Graves, a young Representative in Washington from Kentucky. Jonathan Cilley, Hawthorne's friend and classmate at Bowdoin, was a Congressman from Maine). The dispute was over a matter of Congressional privilege. Cilley is said, by Julian, to have hesitated until reminded of Hawthorne, "uniformly quoted by his friends as the trustworthy model of all that becomes a man in matters of honorable and manly behavior." Cilley's acceptance was his death warrant. "When Hawthorne was told of this," Julian writes, "he felt as if he were almost as much responsible for his friend's death as was the man who shot him. He said little; but the remorse that came upon him was heavy, and did not pass away. He saw that it was Cilley's high esteem for him which had led him to his fatal decision; and he was made to realize with unrelenting clearness, how small a part of the consequences of a man's deeds can be monopolized by the man himself. 'Had I not aimed at my friend's life,' was the burden of his meditation, 'this other friend might have been still alive.' And if the reproach be deemed fanciful, it would not on that account be easier for Hawthorne to shake off. He had touched hands with crime; and all the rest was but a question of degrees."

Julian's account of Hawthorne's challenge and its consequences is melodramatic and a little preposterous. But there it is, like the outline of a novel of passion. It is too much what a biographer would like to have had happen. No wonder that when the story has been repeated at all, it has been given only "for what it is worth."

But in fact it is worth a good deal. The story of the challenge can no longer be dismissed. Among the notes which Julian gathered in preparation for writing *Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife* is the account of a conversation with Elizabeth Peabody, his maternal aunt. It was the direct source for his account of this spectacular experience in his father's life.¹ Miss Peabody had been precise and caustic in what she told him:

1. The manuscript notebook is in the Pierpont Morgan Library, by whose permission this portion is reprinted.

The Mary Silsbee (Sparks) Episode.

She was a handsome girl, a great coquette, a mischief-maker, a fearful liar. As a child she was a very sensitive person (6 years old) at dancing school. Afterwards she had a great ambition to become learned, and this ambition later took a social direction. It was a sort of moral insanity that possessed her. She was a coarse-minded woman. She liked to create difficulties and intrigues. When she was living in Washington a cousin of hers, Eliza Crowninshield was fallen in love with by an English nobleman. Mary Silsbee out of pure mischief, wrote anonymous letters and broke off the engagement. The nobleman never married; Eliza, later in life, married a Mr. Mountford.²

Well, she being what she was, she persuaded O'Sullivan, who was a friend of hers, to bring N. Hawthorne to see her. They met, and my father got in the habit of calling there. She used to tell him stories about herself. One was of a kind to make my father believe that O'Sullivan was a great rascal as regarded his action towards herself and my father; and my father was so enraged against O'Sullivan that he wrote a challenge and sent it to him. [by whom?]³

O'Sullivan wrote in reply a beautiful letter explaining that he knew the Armida wiles of Mary, and that he could not accept the challenge. It was about this time that Cilley was challenged by Wise. It had been resolved by the knot of northern men of whom Cilley was one to put down the fire-eating southerners. Cilley decided to fight, being influenced by my father's example in having challenged O'Sullivan. He was killed, and the affair was a terrible shock to my father, who felt in a way responsible for his death. He had by this time found out all the facts about Mary Silsbee, and he called on her and crushed her, as E. P. P. says.

She afterwards managed to renew relations with him, and told him, (with no encouragement on his part) that she would marry him when he had an income of \$3000. He said he never expected to have so much. Aunt Ebie remarked that he would never marry at all, and that he would never do anything: that he was an ideal person.

It was at this time that, in order to be out of the way, he went on the journey with Bridge described in the notebooks.

Mary Silsbee had formerly had a flirtation with Sparks; but he had finally married a Miss Allen. She died, and he

2. Elizabeth Boardman Crowninshield, Mary's maternal cousin, who had been baptized in 1804 was married on 10 March 1853 to the Reverend William Mountford.

3. The bracketed query is Julian's.

came to Boston, saw Mary, and became engaged to her. This piece of news was communicated to my father by Aunt E. P. P. and he was much delighted, and went to congratulate her.

The story is at last unveiled, and the identities of "Mary" and "Louis" established. Why should Julian have been less than completely candid in his biography? More than Victorian reticence intervened. What is remarkable is that he should have dared to use the correct given names of two well-known persons who were still alive in 1884 when his book was published. Mary Crowninshield Silsbee (1809-1887) was the daughter of United States Senator Nathaniel Silsbee, of Salem, and one of the heiresses of that city when the episode occurred. In 1839, she married Jared Sparks (1789-1866), the famous historian who from 1849 to 1853 was President of Harvard University.⁴ She was now his

4. Miss Peabody's harsh characterization of Mary Silsbee is somewhat confirmed by the opinion expressed of Miss Silsbee by an older friend of Sparks in 1828 when he had first met her in Washington: "They say you have so far forgotten the severe simplicity of your character as to make one in the motley group to bow before the Altar of Fashion; that you have laid your hardly earned laurels on the shrine of Folly and Vanity, that, not contented with these sacrifices, you have even rooted up the trees of the Sacred Groves to ornament the Idol. The Star of Salem I think is Lord of the Ascendent everywhere, but I must say it gave me a sore feeling when I heard that you must be one of the worshippers of Miss S., of a woman to whom common report gives so very little that is intrinsically interesting and valuable, though so much that is glaring and attractive. I hate to think that you are assailable through your vanity. Now I am perfectly aware that this is a harsh phrase and I doubt not will make you angry with me, but if you will examine your own heart, you will perceive the truth of what I assert. I doubt not the lady has a great deal of talent, and power she must have. This I hear from every source. But her thirst for display and admiration is so utterly insatiable that it leads her I verily believe to sacrifice for the sake of it much that is lovely and beautiful in a woman's character—properties which you my susceptible friend, love and admire as much as anybody when you have the clear possession of your faculties. A year of absence and change will do much to cure you of your fever of the brain. I do not speak of all this as any violation of propriety or good feeling, but I always dislike to see you whom I set so high, descend from your elevation, and I trust you will forgive me for supposing you superior to common weakness, or to the enticements of common vanity. . . . Thinking so highly as I do of your powers and character, and loving you so affectionately, I cannot bear to have you do anything which leads the enemy to triumph. I cannot bear to have you let a reigning Belle lead you captive." F. B. Blanshard, ed., *Letters of Ann Gillam Storrow to Jared Sparks*, in *Smith College Studies in History*, VI (April 1921), 230-31. That Miss Silsbee was a woman of exceptional beauty is shown by Alexander's portrait of her, reproduced in H. B. Adams, *Life and Writings of Jared Sparks* (Boston, 1893), II, 543.

widow. An eyebrow or two must have been raised when Julian's book appeared. Perhaps that is one reason why so little appears to have been said publicly about the embarrassing incident of the challenge. No defenses were offered by her friends; there were no further recriminations by Hawthorne's. The silence may not have been golden, but at least it was New England-plated. John Louis O'Sullivan (1813-1895), "Count" Louis as he was called, was by this time living obscurely abroad; but he was still remembered as the coiner of "Manifest Destiny," as a once prominent Jacksonian editor, and as a former Minister to Portugal. No evidence remains of his elderly reactions to Julian's disclosure, and he certainly added nothing by way of published confirmation or dissent. Like the others he was close-mouthed.

Probably Julian himself never learned any more than his aunt had told him, and although he took seven pages to tell it in his book, whatever extensions he made of his original notes were either embellishments or matters of opinion which his cues recalled. He did try to learn more. An unpublished letter⁵ to Horatio Bridge, another of Hawthorne's college friends, reveals Julian's unflagging tenacity:

New York City
Station T.

Dec. 27th 1882

Dear Mr. Bridge

I have been for some time collecting materials for a biography of my father: for it seems as if, unless I do it, the world will be flooded with bastard biographies of him, founded on hearsay and imagination, and injurious to his name and character.⁶ I heard, the other day, for example, that there was a belief prevalent in some quarters that he died in consequence of a debauch in which he and Pierce had indulged; and that he was at all times prone to excessive drinking.—You know more about his youth than any other man; and you would be able, if you have the time and inclination, to give me information not otherwise obtainable.

5. The manuscript is the property of the Bowdoin College Library, as is Bridge's reply, printed by their permission.

6. Julian's hostility to *A Study of Hawthorne* (Boston, 1876) written by his brother-in-law, George Parsons Lathrop, is well-known. Nor was he friendly to James T. Fields, Hawthorne's publisher with whom the family had broken, whose *Yesterdays with Authors* (Boston, 1871) had contained a biographical account of Julian's father.

You, for instance, know about the duel which was at one time imminent between him and O'Sullivan, fomented by the present Mrs Sparks; and you remember him as he worked and acted in the young-man period of his life, concerning which the least is known. I need not say how glad I should be if you would contribute what you know. My address is as above. Of course, if there is any possibility of your coming to New York, it would give me the greatest pleasure to introduce you to my family and have you stay with us.

Yours very sincerely
Julian Hawthorne.

Bridge side-stepped quietly, as an undated copy of a reply, presumably to this particular request, indicates:

My dear Mr Hawthorne

You must excuse me for not answering your letter earlier with regard to a biography of your father. My impression is very strong that he particularly desired that there should be none published.

I can understand that to all who loved him every false impression of his character would be painful and should as far as possible be corrected.

I became aware of the fact that his being a Democrat had led many persons to suppose that he was unsympathetic with the North during the War. Therefore at a recent meeting of Bowdoin men when called upon to respond to the toast of the Class of 1825 I incorporated in my speech a letter of your father's referring to the subject, of which Mrs. Bridge had a copy. I enclose a slip from the Boston Advertiser containing the letter because I am sure it will interest you very much.

My pleasant mention of you in it is the only one I remember your father to have made in writing tho' we often talked over his family matters.

When we pass through N York in the Spring we will try to see you for an hour or two.

Mrs. Bridge joins me in kind regards to Mrs Hawthorne and yourself.

Very truly yours,
H B

Bridge was used to being called on for his recollections. Hawthorne's affectionate preface to *The Snow Image* had established the intimacy of their long friendship; and for those who wished to know more about the author's early manhood, Bridge was the obvious source. Mrs. Hawthorne herself, editing her husband's

American notebooks in 1865 had written him: "Can you send me any memories or incidents of Mr. Hawthorne's college life when you were with him so much?"⁷ James T. Fields had been in correspondence at the time of his *Yesterdays with Authors* (1871). George P. Lathrop had gone to Bridge for material for *A Study of Hawthorne* (1876). Bridge helped Lathrop some, but on the whole he remained silent. By this time he was already making plans for his own reminiscences of his friend, which he published in 1893. His *Personal Recollections of Nathaniel Hawthorne* made no direct reference to the "imminent" duel about which Julian had questioned him. Nevertheless, as Edward Mather has pointed out in defending the likelihood that the challenge actually occurred, Bridge seems to assume it in contradicting Julian's emphasis upon its relationship to Cilley's death. "I never heard," Bridge discretely says, "at that time nor afterwards that Cilley was in any way influenced by Hawthorne's example. Nor did Hawthorne himself ever intimate to me, by word or letter, that he considered himself at all responsible for Cilley's course in accepting Grave's challenge." Bridge was not one to violate the spirit of Hawthorne's request to him that he should burn the letters written to him during Hawthorne's early years after college. This was a period of Hawthorne's life which the author wished to blot out. Bridge had been obedient to the rule, and remained faithful to the spirit. But the earliest manuscript of a letter now extant from Hawthorne to Bridge gives a sense that things indeed had happened, which Bridge found no occasion to elaborate upon to Julian or to anyone else.

The letter was an appeal of anguish sent out in a moment of crisis. That its occasion was Hawthorne's challenge now seems, as Randall Stewart once speculated, reasonably clear. No other contemporary event in Hawthorne's life—certainly not the possibility of gaining a government post in Washington—could be appropriate to the distress the letter reveals:

Salem, February 8th, 1838.

Dear Bridge,

It is very long since I have written to you, or heard from you. My life, till latterly, has gone on in the same dull

7. The manuscript is the property of the Bowdoin College Library, as is that from Hawthorne to Bridge of February 8th, 1838.

way; . . .⁸ It is my purpose to set out for Washington, in the course of a fortnight or thereabouts—but only to make a short visit. Would it be utterly impossible, or extremely unadvisable, for you to come to Boston or this place, within that interval? Not that you can do me the least good; but it would be a satisfaction to me to hold a talk with the best friend I ever had or shall have (of the male sex)—and there may be cause for regret on your part should we fail of a meeting. But I repeat that you cannot exercise the slightest favorable influence on my affairs—they being beyond your control, and hardly within my own. Perhaps you have been thinking of a visit to Boston, and this letter may merely hasten it. If so, I shall be glad. Do not come, if it will put you to serious inconvenience.

God bless you and
Your friend, Nath.

Be mum!

There is no evidence that Bridge actually came. Nor is there any evidence that Hawthorne went to Washington, even as a consequence of O'Sullivan's mollifying letter of explanation. In any event, Miss Peabody's memory was certainly faulty in fixing Hawthorne's visit to Bridge immediately after the trauma which the challenge provoked. Hawthorne's trip to Maine had taken place in the summer of 1837. Perhaps what Miss Peabody confused was Hawthorne's summer disappearance of 1838, but this of course was some months after his quarrel with O'Sullivan was over, and when other events had intervened.

One cannot be precise about what happened in these months, but it is clear that other circumstances had renewed or increased Hawthorne's anguish by the time he left Salem in 1838 for North Adams and the Berkshires, his destination concealed even from his friends. On the eve of his departure, Sophia Peabody (who had first met Hawthorne during the previous November, and increasingly been the object of his attention) wrote Elizabeth of a tea at Miss Burley's which Hawthorne had attended "probably for take-leave call. He was here that morning, looking radiant. . . . He said he was not going to tell anyone where he was to be the next three months—that he thought he should change his name, so that if he died no one would be able to find his grave stone. He should not tell even his Mother where he could be found—that he

8. At this point in the manuscript, about eight lines have been excised.

neither intended to write to any one *nor be written to*. Perhaps he desired us to tell you this last resolve."⁹ Elizabeth would not have been surprised, whatever her disappointment. On June 17th she had plaintively written Sophia: "I was quite disappointed not to find any letter from Hawthorne. I hope you sent mine in time enough. When you see him tell him I was *very much disappointed* —knowing that he had one at hand. I cannot only be consoled by having one *very soon*. His last letter was queer and written in some sort of excitement when he was fighting with some unhappiness I know.

Was Hawthorne's new unhappiness the consequence of the confused situation about which he had written to a girl in Boston on April 12th? To her he had said: "I have recently heard the interesting intelligence that I am engaged to two ladies in this city [Salem]. It was my first knowledge of the fact. I trust that I shall not get married without my own privity and consent."¹⁰ Perhaps Hawthorne's name was still being bandied with that of Miss Silsbee at Salem tea-tables, since, according to Elizabeth Peabody, he had renewed relations with her. Perhaps one or both of the "two ladies" of Salem were the Peabody sisters themselves, for there can be no doubt that on the one hand Elizabeth still considered him her property by right of discovery,¹¹ and on the other that Hawthorne looked now into Sophia's gray eyes rather than at Elizabeth's blue stockings. His older, aloof and spinstered sister, Elizabeth Hawthorne, was possessive in her own way too; her brother's marriage would rob the household of its only man.

9. The manuscript of Sophia's letter, 17 June, 1838, is in the Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection of the New York Public Library, as is Elizabeth's to her, and both are quoted by permission.

10. The manuscript of Hawthorne's letter to Catherine Ainsworth, 12 April, 1838, is in the collection of Mr. C. Waller Barrett, of New York City, and quoted by permission.

11. Of some interest in this connection is a comment in a letter of Jan. 24, 1894, from Mrs. Caroline H. Dall to Mr. Niles, in which she mentions a recent newspaper notice that Elizabeth Peabody had been engaged to Hawthorne: "Sophia never knew of her sister's engagement to N.H. but Hawthorne lived in terror lest E.P.P. should tell her. Many an hour of bitter weeping has she passed in my house, because of his insulting letters about it—after he was married! It was a very unhappy thing for N.H. that he married Sophia. It would have been worse had he married Elizabeth [:] she was old enough to have been his mother." See, Carroll A. Wilson, *Thirteen Author Collections*. . . . (New York, 1950), I, 131-32.

For an "ideal person," as Elizabeth Peabody had described Hawthorne to his son, the hot water was deep enough to drown in. But this time, to her probable chagrin, Hawthorne did "do" something; he disappeared into the cool hills of western Massachusetts.

There had been no real reason for Hawthorne, in 1837, to expect the unhappiness of the first six months of 1838, unless it was the undefined and unfulfilled plan for marriage to which Bridge objected in a letter to Hawthorne of April 14th: "Are you seriously thinking of getting married? If you are, nothing that I could say would avail to deter you. I am in doubt whether you would be more happy in this new mode of life than you are now. This I am sure of, that unless you are fortunate in your choice, you will be wretched in a tenfold degree."¹² Whoever was the object of Hawthorne's April affection, it is not likely to have been Mary Silsbee. It is true that she might have, almost certainly would have, known O'Sullivan by this time. O'Sullivan, handsome and a social and political debonair had been a frequent visitor in Washington even before he settled there in 1835, and Miss Silsbee seems to have been with her parents during sessions of Congress. O'Sullivan was an occasional visitor in Boston, and there he might have met her, or happily continued their acquaintance. Miss Silsbee was striking enough in appearance to attract attention anywhere, and O'Sullivan was known for a keen eye for the possible. But if Elizabeth Peabody was correct in her memory and it was indeed O'Sullivan who introduced Hawthorne to Mary Silsbee, the latter had not yet known Hawthorne by April 14th. An introduction could not have taken place before the time of Bridge's letter. For on April 19th, O'Sullivan first wrote to Hawthorne from Washington, addressing him as a stranger, to invite him to contribute to the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* whose publication was planned for the fall.¹³ Hawthorne, after some delay, agreed, and the magazine's trial-issue in October contained his sketch "The Toll-Gatherer's Day." Beginning with the January, 1838, issue, the magazine's first regular number, the Salem author became by arrangement a regular contributor at five dollars a page. This was an important step forward in Hawthorne's

12. Published in Julian Hawthorne, *Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife* (Boston, 1884), I, 158.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 159-60, 163.

literary career. It was enough to make any editor a friend; O'Sullivan became one. Hawthorne's challenge to O'Sullivan involved important consequences.

If we remember Julian's statement that the challenge was discussed by his friends, it may be significant that, according to O'Sullivan: "It was [Cilley] who first interested me in him—who was himself earnestly desirous to obtain some rich provision for him. . . ."¹⁴ That Cilley and O'Sullivan, both residing in Washington and both young Democrats, should have discussed Hawthorne's impetuously-thrown-down glove is entirely likely, either at the time of the challenge or later when it might serve as an example to Cilley himself. But who is to say what anguished kinship Hawthorne himself felt between the abandoned challenge and the fatal duel? It is impossible that Hawthorne should not have connected these two—only a few weeks probably intervened between them—but for him to feel an analogy is not the same as to stagger beneath the burden of cause and effect. Hawthorne was in any case able, within a fortnight of Cilley's death, to begin to gather materials, at O'Sullivan's request, for a long and sympathetic memorial which appeared with some splash in the September issue of the *Democratic Review*. Whether Hawthorne's characteristic preoccupation with the problem of guilt, already and often expressed in his tales, would have permitted the lack of personal involvement which the printed memorial displays is doubtful. Hawthorne was not a hypocrite. Bridge's testimony as to the absence of guilt may well be accurate as it was protective. To Miss Peabody, on the other hand, the memory of Hawthorne's emotional disturbance in the late spring of 1838 might have led her directly to associate everything that happened at that time with the dramatic challenge which was fixed in her mind.

Today's biographer can at least accept the fact that Hawthorne's challenge to a duel was actually given, and know the names of the persons who were involved. He can be less sure of the exact date when the challenge occurred, for there is no other record than that of Miss Peabody's statement to fix the date of O'Sullivan's visit to Salem.¹⁵ All that we have to go by, for calendar,

¹⁴. O'Sullivan to Wise, 24 November, 1834. The manuscript is in the Maine Historical Society, and quoted by permission.

¹⁵. A search of Salem and Boston newspapers for the period has revealed nothing.

is Hawthorne's letter to Bridge on February 8th. It seems to make a terminal. But that O'Sullivan should have gone to Salem is not surprising. His visit could well have risen out of a desire to meet this promising contributor with whom he had been corresponding, and to make or confirm his arrangements for the future with a man so congenially backed in Democratic circles. For O'Sullivan to have paid his respects to Mary Silsbee on the same visit was natural enough too, and for him to have introduced Hawthorne to her was an obvious courtesy to both. From then on, the fates were in command.

We do not have to take Miss Peabody's word for the fact that Hawthorne resumed his social contacts with Mary Silsbee. On January 12, 1839, Hawthorne wrote to Longfellow: "I saw Mr. Sparks at Miss Silsbee's, some time since, and he said you were thinking of a literary paper. Why not?"¹⁶ No doubt her marriage to Sparks later in the same year made things easier for him, as Elizabeth Peabody said. By then he himself was married, in spirit if not yet in fact. But Hawthorne, although Mary was now safely Mrs. Sparks, did not forget the abortive wiles which had led to his misunderstanding. In April, 1840, he wrote to O'Sullivan as to one in-the-know: "Did I tell you, in my last, that our friend, Mrs. S. has had a miscarriage? Such seems to be her fate, in her life as a whole, and in all details."¹⁷

One further intelligence indicates that Hawthorne did not change his sardonic attitude as the years went by. In 1846, when he and Sophia, now permanently together, had returned from Concord and he had become for a while at least Surveyor of the Port of Salem, Mrs. Hawthorne wrote¹⁸ to her mother, and perhaps for Elizabeth's ears as well: "Mr. Sparks called again to see us—though we had not returned his and his wife's call of six or seven weeks agone—and last Friday we went to see them—my husband, Una and I. Mr Sparks was not at home at first, but after due time, Mrs. Mary appeared—with her child Florence balanced in one arm in a miraculous manner—I thought—It was

16. The manuscript is the property of the Longfellow Trust, on deposit at the Houghton Library of Harvard University, and quoted by permission.

17. See T. F. Madigan, *Word Shadows of the Great* (New York, 1930), p. 94.

18. The manuscript is in the Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection, of the New York Public Library, and quoted by permission.

truly a theatrical entrée, and she said 'I met me child on me way'—Yet I could not but believe it was all a plan from the style After she had accomplished that manoeuvre, she was as simple as a flower of the field. The nursery woman followed her, and Florence disappeared so soon that I only remember that she was small, with blue eyes and light hair that stood up straight, and a pale face—but I should not know her again . . . Mr Sparks came in after a while. My husband thought Mrs Sparks' eyes had become smaller and cat-like. Her complexion is now very coarse but she retains a certain beauty." We can forgive Sophia her own feline purr of final triumph.

YOUNG HAWTHORNE AT THE SALEM THEATRE

BY PAT M. RYAN, JR.

"AS SOON AS WE COULD READ with ease, we began to read Shakespeare," Elizabeth Manning Hawthorne informs us, in a letter describing her brother's boyhood in Salem.¹ Few glimpses of young Nathaniel Hawthorne are more appealing than Elizabeth's recollection that, "When he could not speak quite plainly, he used to repeat, with vehement emphasis, this line, which somebody had taught him from *Richard Third*; 'My Lord, stand back, and let the coffin pass.' "² As early as his eighth or ninth year, the boy was a staunch advocate of the New England stage and an avid student of the Bard's works; in after years, Mrs. Lucy Ann Bradley recalled having visited Nathaniel around 1812-13: "I mentioned . . . that I read Shakespeare with my father. 'Shakespeare!' he exclaimed; 'do they read plays down there [in Maine]? I thought Mr. Payson would not have his people go to the theatre and dances.' . . . We repeated some sentences from plays, and he told me the story of the 'Merchant of Venice'."³ These reminiscences, as they reflect a knowledge of and love of Shakespeare, also signal that early interest in the theatre which was to color Hawthorne's writing even after, so far as we know, he ceased to attend it. Such a novel as *The Scarlet Letter*, as critics have noted, is not without its debt to drama. The work opens and closes with a scene in the public square as closely patterned on the form of a play as on the conventions of the novel which he was adapting to his own needs. Even the few records we possess of Hawthorne's boyhood attraction to the stage may not be without their significance in the development of one of America's greatest writers of fiction.

1. Letter to James T. Fields, December [12], 1870. Cit. by Randall Stewart in "Recollections of Hawthorne by His Sister Elizabeth," *American Literature*, XVI (January 1945), 319.

2. Letter to Fields, December 13, 1870. Cit. by Stewart, *loc. cit.*, p. 321. The quotation is from *Richard III*, I, ii, 38.

3. Cit. by Manning Hawthorne, "A Glimpse of Hawthorne's Boyhood," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, LXXXIII (April 1947), 180, 181. Nathaniel drops a casual *Richard III* allusion in a letter to his sister Louisa, from Brunswick, October 1, 1824: "I would not live over my college life again, 'though 'twere to buy a world of happy days' [I, iv, 6]." Letter at the Essex Institute.

What we know of Nathaniel Hawthorne and the theatre, in his youth, comes from his letters. The presence of so many of them in the collections of the Essex Institute, by the bequest of Richard Manning and by purchase from his estate, permits at least a fragmentary knowledge not only of what Hawthorne saw but what Salem could see during those periods of residence when he was not absent in Raymond, Maine, or a student at Bowdoin College. Though the town could boast no real theatre building in the time of Hawthorne's early youth, there is abundant evidence of sporadic theatrical activity; and young Hawthorne attended some of the most notable productions staged in Salem during the theatrically significant decade of 1820 to 1830.

At the close of a letter to his sister Louisa, from Salem, March 21, 1820, Nathaniel recalled that "I went to a Concert a few days ago."⁴ This event proves to have been a benefit for the victims of the Savannah fire,⁵ "An Oratorio selected from the works of Handel Haydn, and other celebrated composers," performed by the Handel Society of Salem, on Tuesday, March 11, 1820, at the Rev. Dr. Prince's Meeting House.⁶ Beyond these facts, we know little more concerning the performance; it is uncertain whether the oratorio was sacred or secular in character, and Master Hawthorne recorded only that he was present.

Nathaniel's epistolary announcement to his uncle, Robert Manning, on May 2 following, that "I am going to the Theatre tomorrow,"⁷ however, pertains to a well documented event: the advent in Salem of professional actors in performances of full-length plays. A notice in the *Essex Register* for May 3 states:

4. The quotations from Hawthorne's letters and certain of the notes are taken from the edition of Hawthorne's correspondence being prepared by Professor Norman Holmes Pearson, of Yale University. The original manuscripts of these letters are in the Essex Institute. The letter of March 21, 1820, is a gift of Richard Manning.

5. "The profits of this performance will be applied to the relief of the sufferers of the recent calamity at Savannah. Tickets at 50¢ each" (*Essex Register*, March 11, 1820). On January 11, 1820, a disastrous fire had destroyed some 463 houses in Savannah. See F. D. Lee and J. L. Agnew, *Historical Record of the City of Savannah* (Savannah, 1869), p. 77.

6. On March 14, 1820, Priscilla Dike had written to Mrs. Hathorne that "this evening there is a concert at Dr. Prince's meeting, the proceeds to be given to the Dispensary for the sick poor. Nathaniel is going." Letter at the Essex Institute.

7. Letter at the Essex Institute, a gift of Richard Manning.

Theatrical.

After a lapse of 15 or 20 years, we have again an opportunity of witnessing a Theatrical performance in this town. Washington Hall⁸ has been fitted in a very convenient manner for a Theatre, and a considerable part of the Boston Company have already performed two nights, to the entire satisfaction of respectable and numerous audiences. The next performance is announced for this evening and the last in this town on Friday evening after which the company are under an engagement to return to Boston.

As previously suggested, of course, Salem residents had witnessed a variety of theatricals during the preceding score of years. Indeed, during the month of April, 1820, two performances by Messrs. McCleery and Morrison, "from the Theatre New-York, and late of Montreal," had been offered in a hall at Barton's Hotel;⁹ a "PHILOSOPHICAL EXHIBITION" (in fact, a conjuring exhibition) had been given on the 28th by one Mr. Brunel at the Essex Coffee House;¹⁰ and "an elegant MUSEUM, consisting of THIRTY WAX FIGURES, Large as life," had been displayed by Messrs. Stowell and Bishop for three weeks in Washington Hall. The Museum's advertisements, carried in the *Gazette* from April 4 through 25, 1820, promised (by way of substitute for flesh-and-blood theatre) "Othello and Desdemona, a representation from Shakespeare's tragedy, exhibiting Othello in the act of murdering his wife Desdemona." Admittance was "25¢—children 1/2 price." Yet the *Register*'s "lapse of 15 or 20 years" appears to have been well founded; for the Boston troupe's theatrical performances were now of complete plays, fully staged.

The opening bill included Home's *Douglas*, a dance, a comic song, and a farce, *Fortune's Frolic*; while on the second night the comedy *Lovers' Quarrels* was given with a favorite musical piece, *The Review*, and a farce, *Raising the Wind*. Master Hawthorne

8. "Washington Hall was in the upper or third story of the Stearns block, 101 Washington street [northeast corner of Essex and Washington Streets]." *Visitors' Guide to Salem* (Salem, 1953), p. 58.

9. April 18 and 21, 1820 (from advertisements in the *Salem Gazette*). "Lovers of the drama" were invited to attend, but neither ticket prices nor further details of the program were supplied.

10. From an advertisement in the *Gazette*, April 28, 1820. Admittance was "50¢—children 1/2 price."

attended on the third night, Wednesday, when Kotzebue's sentimental drama *Lover's Vows* (*Das Kind der Liebe*) was offered with the following:

End of the play, Patriotic Song—Mr. Brazier. Comic Song—Mr. Williams. To conclude with the farce of The Weathercock, or What Next.¹¹

There can be little doubt that the company presented William Dunlap's adaptation (derived, in turn, from Anne Plumptre's English translation¹²) of the Kotzebue play. The story concerns a Baron who seduces a poor girl, Theodosia, and leaves her, then in after years returns to the scene of this youthful indiscretion, where by chance he meets her again. His natural son, Frederick, robs and is forgiven by the Baron, whose own legitimate daughter, meanwhile, has become romantically involved with her tutor. Exhorted by the tutor to legitimatize his heir, the Baron repents the wrong he has done and agrees to marry Theodosia (V, ii):

(Arnaud goes out at the side door and re-enters conducting Theodosia, the baron catches her speechless in his arms—the baron and Arnaud place her in a chair—the baron kneels before her)

Baron. Theodosia! know you not my voice?

Theod. Wildenhain.

Baron. Can you forgive me?

Theod. I forgive you!

Frederick enters hastily.

Fred. My mother's voice! oh mother! father!

(throws himself on his knees by the other side of his mother—she bends tenderly over both—Arnaud stands with his eyes gratefully turned towards heaven—Amelia leans on his shoulder and wipes the tears from her eyes)¹³

When Dunlap's version was first staged, at the Park Theatre, New York, March 11, 1799, with Thomas Abthorpe Cooper featured as Frederick, the *Commercial Advertiser* had affirmed: "'Lovers' Vows' . . . is a just picture of natural circumstances thrown together with exquisite skill for the purpose of painting

11. Advertisement in the *Gazette*, May 2, 1820. Tickets were sold "at Messrs. Cushing & Appleton's, and at the Essex Coffee House.—Boxes 75 cents; Pit 50. Performance to commence at 7 o'clock, precisely."

12. London, 1798.

13. (New York, 1814), pp. 73, 74.

passion and teaching virtue."¹⁴ So, too, in the prolegomena of Mrs. Inchbald's edition:

The grand moral of this play is—to set forth the consequences which arise from the neglect, and to enforce the watchful care, of illegitimate offspring; and surely, as the pulpit has not had eloquence to eradicate the crime of seduction, the stage may be allowed an humble endeavor to prevent its most fatal effects.¹⁵

No such panegyric, however, appeared in the pages of Salem's journals following the drama's production locally in 1820—nor, significantly, does *Lover's Vows* (enthusiastically received by London and New York audiences) appear ever to have been subsequently revived in that town.

The afterpiece on this bill, though, J. T. Allingham's diverting farce *The Weathercock*, was destined to become a staple on the Salem stage. Its protagonist Tristram Fickle, a young man of a "wavering disposition," abandons a perverse penchant for music and philosophy and, much to his long-suffering father's delight, vows he will become a lawyer: "I ordered twelve square feet of books, when I first thought of embracing the arduous profession of the law."¹⁶ During the balance of two brisk and boisterous acts, however, Tristram's disposition wavers continually, as the hero assumes the roles, further, of tragedian, soldier, gardener, and Quaker. Driven past all patience, Old Fickle determines to have his son put away in Bedlam Asylum—but the resourceful heroine, Variella, succeeds (by a series of ingenious masquerades) in redeeming her beloved Tristram from his folly. Her guardian, Mr. Briefwit, assents to the couple's union in marriage—predicting archly that Tristram may soon be "mad" again.

As neither full cast-lists nor any reviews of the Boston troupe's performance appeared in Salem newspapers, it is difficult to supply much additional data concerning the May 3rd bill. Yet it is certain that Mr. and Mrs. Williams, the former a migrant to Boston from the Philadelphia stage,¹⁷ the latter late of London's

¹⁴ March 12, 1799.

¹⁵ (London, 1808), p. 7.

¹⁶ (New York, 1808), p. 5.

¹⁷ "Mr. Williams came from Philadelphia." William W. Clapp, Jr., *A Record of the Boston Stage* (Boston, 1853), p. 224.

Drury Lane Theatre,¹⁸ were in the company. H. C. Charnock, who later became resident stage manager of the Salem Theatre, was also a member;¹⁹ Mr. Dykes, for just two seasons numbered among the Boston Theatre's ranks, was on hand (presumably with Mrs. Dykes);²⁰ and Mr. Brazier, whose specialty seems to have been songs and recitations,²¹ performed them in Salem and doubtless played utility parts. The company's farewell performance, on Friday, May 5, of Lillo's *The London Merchant* and a farce, *The Village Lawyer*, occasioned the following reservedly commendatory notice in that morning's *Gazette*:

A detachment from the Boston corps have for a few evenings been affording entertainment, in comic and tragic scenes, to the inhabitants of this town. We understand they have had respectable companies and given much satisfaction. They conclude their week here this evening, and we wish they may have cause to recollect their visit without regret.

That the detachment from the Boston corps had no cause for regret after their week's visit²² is clearly evidenced by their return to Salem on June 14 of that year (with Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Brown now featured), for an uninterrupted nine-weeks' engagement at Washington Hall.²³

18. "Mrs. Williams from the Theatre Royal Drury Lane, . . . was a versatile performer, and whether considered as an actress, a dancer, or a singer, was ranked in the first class." *Ibid.*, p. 145.

19. A Benefit for Mr. Charnock was given in the Salem Threatre on January 14, 1829, of which an advertisement appears in the preceding day's *Gazette*.

20. "Mr. Dykes, who married Miss Brailsford, of this city, was a member of the [Boston] company this year [1818-19]."*Clapp, op. cit.*, p. 162. In a notice of the Boston troupe's second visit to Salem, published in the *Gazette* for June 16, 1820—the first authentic review of a dramatic performance to appear in a Salem journal during this period—the actor is cordially welcomed back to town as "our old friend Mr. Dykes."

21. "Mr. Brazier, from the Boston Theatre," presenting "Songs and Recitations," turned up at Newburyport the following year for a two-weeks' stand in Phoenix Hall, teamed with "Mr. Tatnall, formerly of the Circus." *Newburyport Herald*, May 8, 1821. Cit. by James M. Barriskill, "Newburyport Theatre in the Early Nineteenth Century," *E. I. H. C.*, XCIII (October 1957), 296.

22. An editorial in the *Newburyport Herald* for May 12 alludes in passing to this troupe's visit to Salem and reports "overflowing houses." Cit. by Barriskill, *idem*.

23. Indications that in 1820 Washington Hall was equipped with a regular stage and auditorium are enforced by the following notice in the *Gazette* for June 13: "New and elegant scenery will be presented, and an arrangement will be made in regard to the seats on the most agreeable

In the spring of 1821, shortly prior to his departure from Salem to Bowdoin, Nathaniel paid theatres in Boston and Salem a couple of noteworthy visits. His sister Louisa, in a letter to her mother, March 6, 1821, revealed that "Nathaniel went to Boston to the theatre yesterday and came back to-day he saw Mr. Kean perform, he liked him very much."²⁴ Louisa's brother witnessed the acting of Edmund Kean when the celebrated English tragedian was at the zenith of his popularity in America. Nathaniel saw him in *King Lear*, at the Boston Theatre, on the day when box-office records for that house were broken, according to the *Columbian Centinel* for March 7: "*Unparalleled attraction*: The premium given for the choice of seats at the Theatre, on Saturday, for Monday evening, amounted to \$319." What Hawthorne undoubtedly saw was Nahum Tate's version of the Shakespeare drama. Two months later, Edmund Kean played a second engagement in Boston, and on the evening of May 25 walked out of the Theatre rather than appear before what he considered too few spectators. News of the ensuing Boston uproar at Kean's defection was carried in the *Salem Gazette* for May 29 ("A Kean Trick!"), June 5 (two and one-half columns, including the text of Kean's apology), and June 19. Interestingly, the May 25th performance of *King Richard III* (the Cibberized version) went on without interruption, with Frederick Brown, late of Washington Hall, Salem, assuming Kean's role.

Young Hawthorne's subsequent report to his mother, in a letter from Salem, May 29, 1821, that "I went to the Theatre last night,"²⁵ establishes that he knew at first hand the histrionic capacities of the so-called "American Amateurs," who played regularly in Salem from May 21 through June 22, at the Essex Coffee House.²⁶ These young performers, who appear to have acted in

and commodious plan." Performances were usually given on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday evenings during the second engagement, which closed on August 10.

24. Letter at the Essex Institute.

25. Letter at the Essex Institute.

26. The Essex Coffee House appears then to have been the mecca for one-night stands in Salem. The peculiar powers of "Exhilarating Gas" [nitrous oxide] had been demonstrated here (admission 50 cents) on October 27, 1820 (*Gazette*), and here "[two] Camels!" had been exhibited (admission 12½ cents—children ½ price) on November 17 and 18, 1820 (*Gazette*). In addition to other halls hitherto mentioned, Hamilton Hall and Pickering Hall were graced during these years by the performances of local and itinerant entertainers.

more than a score of plays during this interim, who played three or four times weekly, and who offered a different bill every night, obviously must have been very competent amateurs. Their introductory announcement in the newspapers is so modest as to suggest a group of local thespians:

Washington Theatre.

Essex Coffee House.

The Amateurs from the Washington Garden Theatre respectively inform the Ladies and Gentlemen of Salem that they will give a few performances at the Essex Coffee House.²⁷

But the performers' names (which appear frequently in the advertisements) are not those of Salem youth. Happily, the true identity of "the highly respectable company of American Amateurs" can be definitely established, by a passage in the *Gazette* for June 12, 1821, as "originally the Philo Dramatic Society of Boston."²⁸

This company's bill for Monday, May 28—the performance which Nathaniel attended—appears in the *Register* for the preceding Saturday:

WASHINGTON THEATRE

Essex Coffee House

The Managers, at the solicitation of several gentlemen, have concluded to divide the seats in the Theatre, into BOXES and PIT. Box Tickets, 75 cts. Pit, 50. On MONDAY EVENING, (May 28th,) Will be presented the celebrated Tragedy

DOUGLAS,

OR, THE NOBLE SHEPHERD

27. Advertisement in the *Gazette*, May 18, 1821. Tickets were sold as follows: "Front seats 75¢. Back seats 50¢."

28. "In the summer of [1818], a society, composed of young men, organized the Philo Dramatic Society, and gave occasional entertainments at the Amphitheatre, Washington Garden. The primary purposes of the society were improvement in declamation, reading, and recitation, the expenses being defrayed by an assessment. No professional actor was permitted to take any part in the performances." Clapp, *op. cit.*, p. 164. The Washington Garden amphitheatre was erected in 1819, in Tremont Street, Boston, by John Bernard, for summer theatricals. Originally given over to circus, vaudeville, and music, Washington Garden after 1825 became the home of drama and spectacle, under the direction of Joseph Cowell.

Young Norval, his first appearance,	Mr. Thayer
Lord Randolph	Mr. Spear
Glenvalon	Mr. Pelby
Old Norval	Mr. Hurley
Officer	Mr. Marsh
Lady Randolph	Miss Denny
Anna	Mrs. Mills

Between the Play and Farce, a comic recitation called the MILK MAN AND THE MONKEY, or Anna, Catalina, Matalina, Yohau, Philip Minterola — with SONG by Mr. Simonds

Song — Robin Adair.	Master Ayling
Song — Cherry Cheeked Patty	Mr. Hurley
To be concluded with the favorite Farce of the WEATHER-COCK,	
Or, Love alone can fix him.	

Tristram Fickle	Mr. Thayer
Old Fickle	Stone
Briefwit	Simonds
Sneer	Fuller
Gardener; &c.	Marsh
Variella	Miss Denny
Ready	Miss Morse

Tickets for sale at Cushing & Appleton's and at the Essex Coffee House.

*

* * * * Curtain rises at half past 7 o'clock.

The Rev. John Home's *Douglas* (1756) is the phenomenally successful drama which for a century attracted every ranking tragedienne of the Anglo-American stage to the role of Lady Randolph and in which, in the part of Norval, such performers as John Howard Payne, Edwin Forrest, Charles Kean, and Lester Wallack made their professional débuts. "It vied with *Hamlet* as a perennial favorite," as Bertrand Evans has recorded, and "created the greatest dramatic stir of the age."²⁹ By the first quarter of the nineteenth century, even in New England, every school-boy could speak the famous lines beginning "My name is Norval"— and the Glenvalon-Norval encounter in Act Four turns up in a

²⁹. *Gothic Drama from Walpole to Shelley*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1947), p. 19.

widely circulated American manual of "School Dialogues" published as late as 1892.³⁰ The play's inherently Gothic character is manifest in its opening speech, by Lady Randolph:

Ye woods and wilds, whose melancholy gloom
 Accords with my soul's sadness, and draws forth
 The voice of sorrow from my bursting heart,
 Farewel a while: I will not leave you long;
 For in your shades I deem some spirit dwells,
 Who from the chiding stream, or groaning oak,
 Still hears, and answers to Matilda's moan.
 O Douglas! Douglas! If departed ghosts
 Are e'er permitted to review this world,
 Within the circle of that wood thou art,
 And with the passion of immortals hear'st
 My lamentation: hear'st thy wretched wife
 Weep for her husband slain, her infant lost.³¹

Against an atmospheric medieval background, first "The court of a castle, surrounded with woods," later "The Wood," a young stranger appears—who is called Norval, but whose origin is shrouded in mystery, even to himself. That he is actually the "infant lost" of Lady Randolph's initial plaint becomes evident from Old Norval's neo-Ossianic report of Act Three:

One stormy night, as I remember well,
 The wind and rain beat hard upon our roof:
 Red came the river down, and loud and oft
 The angry spirit of the water shriek'd.
 At the dead hour of night was hear the cry
 Of one in jeopardy. I rose, and ran
 To where the circling eddy of a pool
 Beneath the ford, us'd oft to bring within
 My reach whatever floating thing the stream
 Had caught. The voice was ceas'd; the person lost:
 But looking said and earnest on the waters,
 By the moon's light I saw, whirl'd round and round,
 A basket: soon I drew it to the bank,
 And nestled curious there an infant lay.³²

Aware now that Young Norval is her son, Lady Randolph confides to him that he is really Douglas and of noble birth. The hero's attempt to recover his usurped estate from Lord Randolph,

30. No. 20 *Thespian*. (New York, [1892]), pp. 29-32.

31. (London, 1757), pp. 1, 2.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

in the final Act, is opposed by the treacherous Glenvalon, who, rushing upon him from behind, mortally wounds Douglas. The grief-stricken mother leaps from a cliff to her death, leaving Lord Randolph (too late apprized of Douglas' identity) filled with remorse.

It is singular that in the handful of notices published in Salem newspapers during this troupe's engagement there appears not one reference to Mr. Thayer, who on May 28 sustained the leading roles of both *Douglas* and *The Weathercock*. He appeared on the following night as Petruchio in the Garrick redaction of Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew*; and W. W. Clapp, Jr., has recorded that "Mr. Thayer, who subsequently became a professional actor, was the most active member [of the Philo Dramatic Society]."³³ If the advertisement in the *Register* may be given credence, in any event, young Hawthorne would have witnessed this actor in "his first appearance" on the stage. Miss Denny, on the other hand, who played Lady Randolph in the tragedy and Variella in the farce, was much admired by the local reviewers. Commenting in the *Gazette* on her opening-night performance, a correspondent named "Essex" pronounced the lady "in [no] degree deficient in that peculiarly energetic spirit, and fashionable air, which are so necessarily required;"³⁴ and "Another Correspondent," reporting on the second night's bill, acclaimed Miss Denny "an actress of rising promise."³⁵ Mr. Pelby, who appeared as the leading man on the first and second nights and acted the "heavy" part of Glenvalon in *Douglas*, was praised by the former reviewer for "a correctness of conception, and a felicity of execution, which has rarely been surpassed," and was credited by the latter with "very respectable powers for scenic delineations." Mr. Simonds, whose entr'acte recitation and whose portrayal of Brief-wit in *The Weathercock* must have delighted the May 28th audience, was acknowledged in the *Gazette* to be capable of working "a very powerful effect on the risible faculties."³⁶ And these versatile performers (numbering seventeen in all) were, importantly, American-born—as noted by a correspondent in the *Gazette* for May 25:

33. *Op. cit.*, p. 164.

34. *Gazette*, May 25, 1821.

35. *Idem.*

36. *Idem.*

They are all native Americans; and in this era of encouragement to domestic productions, may we not reasonably hope that domestic talents will sustain themselves, without the aid of *protecting du-ties*?

Salem's first permanent playhouse, the Salem Theatre, was not erected until seven years later, in the time of novelist Hawthorne's anonymous *Fanshawe*. It was constructed during the summer of 1828 on a corner site at Essex and Crombie Streets³⁷ at the instance of the property-owner, J. W. Barton, who organized a stock-holders group for its financing; was formally opened on September 18, with "a strong Company from the *Tremont Theatre*, Boston,"³⁸ in *The Honeymoon* and *The Review*; and, under the management of A. I. Phillips, with a permanent stock company, housed a full season of drama during 1828-29, commencing October 10. Edwin Forrest, James H. Caldwell, James W. Wallack, Clara Fisher, Mrs. John R. Duff, and other stars appeared at this house during that first season; and Hawthorne, who was then residing in Salem, presumably attended some of their performances. The Salem Theatre, however, notwithstanding return engagements by Forrest and performances by Junius Brutus Booth, did not so thrive in 1829-30.³⁹ And its inevitable demise in the second season (resulting in a temporary eclipse of professional theatre activity in Salem) was the subject of epistolary comment by Hawthorne, dated February 18, 1830:

The theatre was opened in the first of the season, but has been closed several weeks for want of encouragment. A Lyceum is shortly to be established here, and they could not

37. Early in August, 1821, one Godeau, a rope-dancer and juggler, erected "a temporary Amphitheatre in Crombie-Place, adjoining Mr. Barton's Hotel" (*Gazette*, August 7), and later that same month—"at considerable expense"—put up a second "very convenient Amphitheatre in the rear of the Monroe Tavern, near the Court House, where he proposes remaining a few days longer, by the *particular request* of a number of gentlemen and ladies" (*Gazette*, August 14). If Hawthorne attended any of M. Godeau's exhibitions of skill, he seems not to have recorded the fact.

38. Advertisement in the *Gazette*, September 16, 1828.

39. Barton, in a manuscript history, "The Old Salem Theatre," written in September, 1883, recalled that: "The first season the theatrical company being composed of well selected talent and not too large, and the whole thing a novelty the manager was well remunerated, but the following season in consequence of the management being upon too extravagant a scale for the size of the town, proved unprofitable." Manuscript at the Essex Institute.

better apply the theatre to a better purpose than to deliver lectures there.⁴⁰

The Lyceum did follow, and flourish, to be sure; and Nathaniel Hawthorne became one of its managers.⁴¹ The Salem Theatre, meanwhile, was converted into the Crombie Street Church. But that history belongs to the period of Hawthorne's manhood.

^{40.} Letter to Mr. John S. Dike, Steubenville, Ohio; now at the Essex Institute.

^{41.} Salem's first Lyceum meeting took place on February 24, 1830, at the Methodist Chapel, in Sewall Street; Hawthorne was manager for Lyceum sessions of 1848.

ELIZABETH PEABODY ON HAWTHORNE

By NORMAN HOLMES PEARSON

HAWTHORNE DISTRUSTED THE PROSPECT of any biography of himself, but whatever precautionary steps he may have taken to cover the tracks of certain years, and no matter how he made his feelings known, he fought a losing battle against reporters. His was an age of memoirs, and his age was not willing to forget the author of *The Scarlet Letter*.

Not even Hawthorne's widow stayed on the side of silence. Little more than a year passed after his death before she was busy editing his journals, and planning a volume which should contain selections from them, with links supplied by his friends. To Horatio Bridge she wrote: "Can you send me any memories or incidents of Mr. Hawthorne's college-life when you were with him so much? . . . I have requested his sister to write her recollections of his childhood and early youth; for she alone can now do that."¹ If it was ever written, no such account by Elizabeth Hawthorne now appears to exist. In December, 1870, she did, however, agreeably write a series of biographical letters to James T. Fields, who was preparing his *Yesterdays with Authors* (1870).²

But Elizabeth Hawthorne was not permanently convinced of her biographical responsibility, as a later letter from her to Una Hawthorne on June 15, 1876, indicates. Quoting her Manning nephew, she wrote: "Richard says that, in future, after an indefinite number of years have passed, every incident of Hawthorne's life will be invaluable to the public, as the most trifling details relating to Shakespeare are to us; therefore he thinks that every one who knows any thing about him should by all means make a permanent record of his knowledge; so that Julian and George will not stand in each other's way. Even with this I do not agree: facts are frequently too trifling to be edifying, besides that they

1. The manuscript letter, of Nov. 7, 1865, is the property of Bowdoin College and quoted by their permission.

2. These are reprinted in Randall Stewart's "Recollections of Hawthorne by His Sister Elizabeth," *American Literature*, XVI (January, 1945), 316-31.

are sure to be misunderstood (unless they are set forth at a wearisome length). All that need be told about Hawthorne he has himself communicated to the public, and an attentive reader of his works will understand him, and no one else ever will. I wish there was no thought of a biography of him. But Richard says the forthcoming work is not to be a biography. He told me the title, but I have forgotten it."³

By this time her wish was hopeless. Her reference to "Julian and George" revealed the rivalry that had sprung up between Hawthorne's son and his son-in-law over the profits from Hawthorne's memory. Julian made his plan for a biography known early, but he proved slow in carrying it out. George Parsons Lathrop, who to almost no one's satisfaction had married Rose in 1871 soon after her mother's death, jumped in like an alert journalist. His book, *A Study of Hawthorne* (1876), was not, he asserted, a biography but exactly what his title indicated. A biography it may not have been by the strictest letter of law, but Julian was convinced that it poached on what was his own exclusive preserve. No arguments between them over the right to use family letters, no wrathful communications to the press, no threats of lawsuit could stop the book. Not even Elizabeth Hawthorne's opinion of a preliminary article by Lathrop in *Scribner's*, which she said described her brother's daily life before marriage in such a way as "to appear that of an idiot,"⁴ could have any effect. Lathrop's book appeared first; but poor Rose, as a result, was estranged from her sister, from Julian, and from her "Aunt Ebe" as well.

Elizabeth Hawthorne had helped Lathrop, nevertheless, as had the other chief living source for the events of Hawthorne's late bachelorhood and courtship. This was Elizabeth Peabody. It was she who had sought Hawthorne out in 1837, and provided the means by which he had met her sister, Sophia, whom at last he had married. It had been she who gave the final help to get him his position at the Boston Custom House by interceding with her old friend, George Bancroft. At the time of her first meeting with Hawthorne, Elizabeth Peabody was already known as a woman of original force and striking conviction. She had been amanuensis

3. The manuscript letter is in the collection of the author.

4. The manuscript letter, written May 17, 1876, to Una, is in the collection of the author.

to William Channing, and an associate of Alcott in his Temple School. With Alcott she had collaborated on the *Record of a School* (1835). She knew Emerson and Horace Mann; in fact she knew everyone worth knowing in the neighborhood of Boston, or at least she thought she did until she heard of Hawthorne. After that she knew him too.

Since Elizabeth Peabody had helped Lathrop, it was natural that Julian should also have turned to her for information when in 1882 he actively began his research for *Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife* (1884). The evidence we have of these preliminary labors is the fat notebook in which he recorded the data he gathered.⁵ Into it went genealogy, excerpts from letters and a calendar of the important ones, notes on the scenes of his father's novels, first drafts of sections of the biography, and especially the accounts of what Elizabeth Peabody had written out for him or told him. These sections for which his aunt was the source are in three chief parts. One of them, her account of Hawthorne's challenge to a duel, is printed elsewhere in this issue. The other two (of her meeting with Hawthorne and his courtship of her sister, and of the Peabody family history before their meeting) now make up her document for later generations like our own, as they once did for Hawthorne's son. Nothing is told in them of the years after Hawthorne's marriage. This later period in her relationship with the Hawthornes was one in which he resented her continued efforts to be shepherdess. Miss Peabody was silent about the angry letters which so often came to her, and the years when he avoided her company.

Elizabeth Peabody's account is worth having in her own words. Julian recast her phrases to suit his own needs and rhetoric. A comparison of her recollections with what appeared from them in Julian's book shows much that is lost of the freshness she brought to her narrations even at seventy-eight. She describes Hawthorne's unusual relationships with his sisters and mother with vividness and essential accuracy. Fascinated by the circumstances of Hawthorne's early career she was able to get from the author such details as we now know of his abortive "Story-Teller." It was not his "first attempt at publishing" as she states, but it

5. The notebook is in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York City, and is republished in part by their kind permission.

was his most recent one before Bridge's subsidy made the publication of *Twice-Told Tales* possible on March 7, 1837. Elizabeth's first meeting with its author on November 11th of the same year was its result. The account of that evening at the Peabody home, when they all looked together at the just-published volume of *The Iliad of Homer, . . . with English Notes and Flaxman's Designs*, edited by Cornelius Felton, Professor of Greek at Harvard (he was not yet president), comes alive to us as Hawthorne came alive to her. So too does the party at Mrs. Caleb Foote's where Hawthorne was at first so painfully shy.

Elizabeth Peabody's references to the now-lost correspondence between Hawthorne and herself, during 1837-1838 and perhaps longer, makes us regret the light that might have been thrown on this important period of his life. But what has not been lost, and what one can not quite forget in reading what she has to say about Hawthorne otherwise, is the hint, in her account to Julian, of what must have been Elizabeth's own intense unhappiness as she saw Sophia win a love which her older sister had hoped to claim for her own. It is only a hint. Elizabeth was proud; her personal regrets she kept to herself, and when her sister's son came to her for help, she told him what she could.

The first of her accounts follows. It is preceded by a section in which Julian leads up to his aunt's memories.

"My father was born in 1804, on Independence Day, one of three or four children, and the only son. He was a healthy, happy, handsome child, with bright curly hair. The early death of his father, and his mother's conduct thereupon, must have produced some effect on him; but he had a sense of humour and a vein of light-heartedness and mischief, which did much to counteract the influence of graver matters upon his imagination. He was strong, active, and calm tempered, though capable, when justly moved, of exhibiting tremendous wrath and unmitigable sternness. When he was nine, he injured his foot, and being thus compelled to be sedentary for a while, he took to reading, and acquired a great fondness for certain books. Bunyan, Sydney's 'Arcadia,' Reynolds 'God's Revenge Against Murther,' the annals of his native town and country, Robinson Crusoe, Shakespeare, Spenser, Milton, Pope, Thomson,—these were among the authors that made up

his library. Rousseau also, and the Newgate Calendar; Froissart, and Clarendon's History of the Rebellion (in England). In 1813 he saw, from the coast near Salem, he may have witnessed [*sic*] the fight between the Chesapeake and the Shannon. The next year his mother moved to the new house in Raymond, Maine. This house, ruinous now, is still standing near Sebago Lake, and is reported to be haunted. It was called Manning's Folly. Later it was transformed into a tabernacle, but not long used as such. Here my father spent much of his time for the next seven years,—Bowdoin College being only 30 miles distant. Mrs. Hawthorne must have had, in this wild region, ample opportunity to cherish her widowhood undisturbed; and 'it was there I first got my cursed habit of solitude,' says my father. He lived as wild a life as the hero of Longfellow's 'Skeleton in Armour'—skating, hunting, fishing. He has told me how he tracked the bear by his traces in the snow through these primeval forests.—In 1819, at fifteen years of age, he returned to Salem to school; and the next year he fitted for college under Mr. Oliver. There is extant a supposed journal of his written about 1818 to 1819, at Raymond, and comprising various daily incidents of his life there.⁶ The style is not unlike that of a clever and rather widely observant boy of fourteen or fifteen; and in some passages the boy seems to speak like Nathaniel Hawthorne; but upon the whole I am inclined to think that this journal is at most only founded upon any genuine writings of his. At all events they throw little useful light upon his character, and that little not entirely agreeable. It is true that a boy at fourteen is at his least agreeable age. Following this are some (genuine) passages in a little newspaper that he wrote, quoted by Lathrop, as are also the doubtful journals. This newspaper amounts to little; it is a more or less clever parody of the items and tone of a real newspaper.⁷ No serious conception of authorship had as yet entered the boy's mind. I find far more interest

6. See Samuel T. Pickard, ed., *Hawthorne's First Diary* (Boston, 1897). The diary, never fully accepted into the Hawthorne canon, but probably authentic, had appeared earlier in the *Portland Transcript*, and been quoted at length by Lathrop who believed it to be "in most respects" genuine.

7. The newspaper was quoted by Lathrop and commented on at some length. Lathrop's approval was no recommendation to Julian. For the complete text, see Elizabeth L. Chandler, ed., "Hawthorne's Spectator," in *New England Quarterly*, IV (April 1931), 289-330.

and character in such of his letters to his sisters, mother, and uncles as were written during his residence at Bowdoin; and I wish there were more of these.⁸ After leaving College, he wrote 'Fanshawe' which is inspired by Scott; and then came the long period of seclusion in Salem which hatched out the 'twice told tales.'

"This period can be constructed from the American notebooks, and from his letters—if any there be—to Bridge, Pike, and other of his friends and acquaintances. Following the publication of the tales is his acquaintance with the Peabody family. This is told by my aunt E. P. Peabody; and it involves the story of my mother's girlhood. My aunt says, 'Between 1830 and 1836 my attention was arrested by stories, over various nom de plumes, in the New England magazine, edited by Goodrich; and gradually I came to feel that they were all by the same person. "The Gentle Boy" made on me the profoundest impression, and once, when I was discussing with someone its possible author, I was told that he was an inhabitant of Salem. I came to the conclusion that it must be some old "New Light" Quaker, who had outgrown his traditional sectarianism; and I actually wrote a letter to the imaginary old man to ask him how he knew that "sensitive natures were especially liable to be malicious." I never sent this letter, but after knowing Nath. Hawthorne I told him of it, and he said, if I had done it, it would have made an epoch in his life, for he was then like a man talking to himself in a dark place; because, being published only in magazines, all he wrote had no response either of praise or blame. He did not mention Fanshawe, because I think he felt that his specific individuality was not expressed in it—that it was a mere effect of culture. But your father was a man wholly destitute of vanity; he had not even the germ of it. What he called his first attempt at publishing was sending his "Story-teller" to Goodrich.⁹ In it he describes himself as a gloomy idler who could not make up his mind to get into any profession,

8. Such as there are, they are mostly now in the collections of the Essex Institute.

9. Miss Peabody also told of the "Story-Teller" in another manuscript account of Hawthorne which I have not located but which was once in the collection of G. M. Williamson and was quoted by Moncure Conway in his *Life of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (London, 1890), pp. 31-34. See also, Nelson F. Adkins, "The Early Projected Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne," *Papers of the Bib. Soc. of America*, XXXIX (1945), 119-55.

and a neighbor of his, as much at a loss as himself for a worldly vocation, who was a religious enthusiast, with an idea that he was sent by God on a mission to call the world to a higher life. These two exceptional Yankees were tabooed by the prosaic community from which they were dissidents; and this brought them into a strange intimacy, and at length they agreed to go off together as itinerants, and at every place they came to which they thought suitable to put up notices saying that at a certain home there would be a sermon preached in the open air by the self-elected missionary, and in the evening another speaker would tell a story. Goodrich wished to publish the stories separately, but Hawthorne thought they would lose their significance in not being published as he had arranged, in a certain correspondence with the sermons. This rebuff discouraged Hawthorne from publishing for several years; then Horatio Bridge told Goodrich to propose to collect all the tales into a volume. Goodrich did this, and quite electrified Hawthorne with the idea of a public demand. Goodrich failed just as the book was being brought out; but John O'Sullivan who was then editing the Democratic Review engaged Hawthorne to contribute a tale to every number, at the rate of \$5.00 a page. It was just before this last circumstance that I became acquainted with your father.

"I went back to Salem, after 17 years absence in Lancaster and Boston, in 1837, and then I first heard that the "Gentle Boy" was written by the son of the widow Hawthorne. Now in 1811, when your mother was a year old, and a very sick child on account of teething, and made a life-long invalid by the heroic system of medicine, which was then in vogue, we lived in Union Street, very near Herbert Street, and I used to play with the Hawthorne children, as they were called, in their yard, which stretched across between the streets. I vividly remember your Aunt Elizabeth Hawthorne who was a brilliant little girl. Your grandmother Hawthorne was then a recluse, it being early in her widowhood; and my mother's imagination and sympathy were very much touched by what she heard of her; and she wrote her a note (she had a gifted epistolary pen) asking Mrs. Hawthorne to let her daughter come and do her lessons with me. Mrs. Hawthorne sent word that Elizabeth might go, and invited Mrs. Peabody to come and see her, though she did not see her husband's or many of

her own relations, and no strangers at all. Elizabeth seemed to me a great genius. I had not remembered the brother's or Louisa's existence, until one day in 1849, when I saw you, then about three years old, dance across the yard with your back turned toward me; and it struck a chord of long forgotten memory, and I remembered seeing a boy of the same size, with the same head of clustering locks, and the same broad shoulders, do just the same thing, in the old yard at Herbert Street.—But we moved away from Union Street to the extreme end of the town, and I lost sight even of Elizabeth; and then your grandmother Hawthorne [moved] to the farm in Raymond. In 1820 I left Salem and only occasionally revisited it, but when I did I heard that Mrs. Hawthorne had returned to her old domicile in Herbert Street, and still preserved her seclusion; and that Elizabeth secluded herself in like manner, spending all her days lying on the bed and reading, and never getting up except in the night. People said it was a love disappointment, as it began after a visit she had made of three weeks in Newburyport, where she had met an interesting gentleman, who, she expected, would come to see her in Salem, but he never came. To return to my story. When I heard that the wonderful author was the widow Hawthorne's son, I did not believe it, but thought it must be Elizabeth. So I went to the house and asked for her, but was told she never saw anyone, but her sister Louisa did. Presently Louisa came in, and I soon learned from her that it was not Elizabeth but Nathaniel who was the author. "But if your brother can write like that," said I, "he has no right to be idle." "He never is idle," she replied laughingly; "but I will go and see Lizzie and tell her what you have said." She soon returned laughing and said, "Lizzie says if you will come some time in the evening she will see you." But she did not appoint any particular evening, and a year passed. Then one day came the newly published "twice told tales" for "Miss Elizabeth Peabody, with the respects of the Author." Soon after I met Louisa in the street, and she asked me why I had not called. The upshot was, that, on the pretext of asking Nath. Hawthorne about the terms of the Democratic Review, I invited him and his sister to see us that evening. President Felton had just sent me an edition of Flaxman's outlines, and in the evening, as I was looking over them, in the parlour at Charter Street, a great ring came at

the front door. I opened it, and there stood your father in all the splendor of his young beauty, and a hooded figure hanging on each arm. I don't know why I had expected to see an ordinary looking person, like the other Hawthorne men whom I have seen. I greeted them, saying, "Oh I am so glad you have come," and seeing they were flustered, I went before them into the parlour and proceeded to light the astral, so they had time to get off their things, and they had seated themselves in a row when I turned upon them. I hurried on to explain the pile of books. They had not seen them before, and expressed interest. "You do not say," I exclaimed, "that I am going to have the pleasure of introducing you to Flaxman, the modern ancient!" and on this I opened the Illustrations of the Iliad, and they all drew up their chairs to the table, and we were all at ease at once, as we looked over the whole five volumes, and talked of Homer and Hesiod, Aeschylus and Dante, with all of whom they were perfectly at home. —But I must tell you that as soon as I had got them engaged, I excused myself for a moment and ran upstairs to your mother and said "Oh Sophia [,] Mr Hawthorne and his sisters have come, and you never saw anything so splendid—he is handsomer than Lord Byron! You must get up and dress and come down. We have Flaxman too." She laughed and said "I think it would be rather ridiculous to get up. If he has come once he will come again." So I had to return without her. At nine o'clock my sister Mary came in; she has great social tact, and took in the situation at a glance, greeted them in turn, and then joined us at Flaxman. So the first evening passed without embarrassment; they all talked naturally and most intelligently. Louisa was quite like other people. Elizabeth with her black hair in beautiful natural curls, her bright rather shy eyes, and a rather excited frequent low laugh, looked full of wit and keenness—as if she were experienced in the world; not the least sentimental in air, but strongly intellectual. Your father first looked almost fierce with his determination to conquer his sensitive shyness, that he always felt was weakness. He was very nicely dressed, which was another device of his to conquer himself (as he afterwards told me); but as soon as he forgot himself in conversation, all this passed away, and the beauty of the outline of all his features, the pure complexion, the wonderful eyes, like mountain lakes seeming to



SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE (1810-1871)

reflect the heavens, made a wonderful impression on both Mary and me, and was all in keeping with the effect of the twice told tales. When they left the ladies invited me to see them, and all the omens of this new acquaintance were good. The next day I saw Mr Howes, and he went to the Hawthornes and invited your father to come and dine at his house the next day. Soon after this dinner he called on me. I summoned your mother, and she came down in her simple white wrapper, and glided in at the back door and sat down on the sofa. As I said "My sister Sophia—Mr Hawthorne, ["] he rose and looked at her—he did not realise how intently, and afterwards, as we went on talking, she would interpose frequently a remark in her low sweet voice. Every time she did so, he looked at her with the same intentness of interest. I was struck with it, and painfully. I thought, what if he should fall in love with her; and I had heard her so often say, nothing would ever tempt her to marry, and inflict upon a husband the care of such a sufferer. She was never able to join the family at meals, because she could not bear the noise of the knives and forks; and she was the ceaseless object of my mother's nursing care, though the most inexacting person by character in the world —of which I could give a hundred most affecting proofs. (Of course all this was the thought of a few seconds).

"When your father got up to go, he said he should come for me in the evening to go and see his sisters. And when it was arranged, he stepped forwards towards your mother and said, "And Miss Sophia, will not you come too?" She replied, "I never go out in the evening, Mr. Hawthorne." I shall never forget his attitude. He clasped his hands on each other and stood with such a look of entreaty, and said, "I wish you would!" But I must tell you of the evening at the Foote's.

"Mrs. Foote was the daughter of Judge White, and a very cultivated person, who had enjoyed the twice told tales to the point of ecstasy. When your father opened the parlour door, the brilliant light of the chandelier dazzled him, and, as he said to me afterwards, we four ladies seemed to him a large company. He paused on the threshold as if in catalepsy, and stood motionless like an alabaster statue, but in a lovely attitude of repose. Mrs. Foote stepped forward, but with all her long habit of receiving company, she was appalled by his evident impossibility of motion,

and stepped backwards; and your Aunt Mary and I sprang forward, and each took a hand in ours, which he grasped like a drowning man a straw, and we drew him forward to the table, where we all sat down. I began to talk to him gaily, as if all were easy and familiar, and soon the catalepsy began to subside, and at length he joined in with short phrases like "Why not?" and such, that fitted in so nicely, and showed how completely he was interested, that it really seemed as if we had quite a full mutual conversation. I never so [saw?] anybody who listened so devouringly, and was evidently so profoundly social, although he never talked much. But every word was loaded with significance, though there was nothing oracular in his manner—eminently suggestive as it was. When it was time to go, I said to my father, who had come for us, "you take the basket." "No" said Mr. Hawthorne, "I am going to take the basket." So I handed him the basket and took his arm, while Father preceded us with Aunt Mary. We had hardly got into the open air when he said to us in the tone of an old intimate acquaintance. "Why don't you come and see Elizabeth, as you proposed more than a year ago?" I said "Why simply because your sisters, though giving me a general invitation, never have named any particular evening." "They are out of the world so completely," said he, "that they do not know its customs. But I will come for you whenever you say I may, and wait on you home. And I wish you would come. My sister Elizabeth is very witty and individual, and knows the world marvellously, considering it is only through books. I wish you would come for my sake—for I want to see her—I have not seen her for three months!" I made an exclamation of surprise, and he continued, "No—and we do not live at our house, we only vegetate. Elizabeth never leaves her den; I have mine in the upper story, to which they always bring my meals, setting them down in a waiter at my door, which is always locked." "Don't you even see your mother?" said I. "Yes," said he, "in our little parlour. She comes and sits down with me and Louisa after tea—and sometimes Louisa and I drink tea together. My mother and Elizabeth each take their meals in their rooms. My mother has never sat down to table with anybody, since my father's death." I said, "Do you think it is healthy to live so separated?" "Certainly not—it is no life at all—it is the misfortune of my life. It has produced a

morbid consciousness that paralyzes my powers." And in this way he talked on. I told him that the impression made on me by the twice told tales was that of a very intense social nature, which I had felt made his isolated habits mysterious. I was struck on this evening with his observations of nature; nature reappeared in his conversation humanized; and often afterwards we talked of the office of nature's forms in building up the individual mind. Whenever he called at our house, he would generally see your mother. One day she showed him her illustration of the Gentle Boy, and said, "I want to know if this looks like your Ilbrahim?" He sat down and gazed at it and then looked up and said "He will never look otherwise to me!" He had said to me long before, "What a peculiar person your sister is!" Once he said, "She is a flower to be worn in no man's bosom, but let down from heaven to show the human soul's possibilities." I had therefore talked of her freely, and told of her rare childhood. A great deal of the time, however, she was suffering so acutely that she could not be seen by him; and I told him of her chronic headaches, and how it did not embitter or even sadden the unspoiled imagination of her heart. I had showed him her letters from the West Indies, which we had bound; and thus he became quite intimately acquainted with her spirit, and also with tropical nature, which she paints with her words in those letters which I suppose you have read.

"Later I went to West Newton, and a correspondence was established between your father and me, on condition that I would never show his letters.¹⁰ And while this was going on, he saw a great deal of your mother, who, having grown up with the feeling that she was never to be married, looked upon herself as a little girl; and she would often go down to Mrs. Hawthorne's to carry my letter, and so made the acquaintance of Louisa and the widow; and the latter, as it afterwards appeared, became quite fond of her. Widow Hawthorne always looked as if she had walked out of an old picture, with her ancient costume, and a face of lovely sensibility, and great brightness—for she did not *seem* at all a victim of morbid sensibility, notwithstanding her all but Hindoo self-devotion to the manes of her husband. She was a person of fine

¹⁰ In editing Hawthorne's letters I have never uncovered these early letters. She may indeed have destroyed them. Some later letters to her from Hawthorne do exist.

understanding and a very cultivated mind. But she had very sensitive nerves—was not happily affected by her husband's family—the Hawthornes being of a very sharp and stern individuality—and when not cultivated, this appeared in oddity of temper. You have the miniature likeness of your grandfather. He was a graduate of Harvard (?)¹¹ College, which has a Hawthorne in all the generations, and looked a dignified gentleman of the old school. Old Captain Knights once said to Mr. Manning, "I hear your darter is going to marry the son of Captain Nat Hawthorne. I knowed him: he was the sternest man that ever walked a deck!" Your father used to say that he inherited the granite that was in him, in such strong contrast to the Manning sensibility. It is such contrasts of heredity that bring forth the greatest geniuses—when they are harmonized and put into equipoise by culture. [']"

In another section of his notebook, Julian copied the second account which his aunt gave him. From this second report only its quotation of Sophia's startling statement that "Mr. Hawthorne's passions were under his feet" can be said to be entirely new to modern readers. Most of the facts have been repeated elsewhere and often. But again it is helpful to have Elizabeth's narration in her own words.

The now elderly spinster could look back with satisfaction on her significant share in the life of her family from the moment in 1814 when she took her five-year old sister, Sophia, under her instruction. That the ideas which Elizabeth remembered as having had at that time may have taken on a little of the vocabulary of her association with Alcott at the Temple School probably does not alter the original liberal cast of her thought as a girl. Elizabeth was always avant garde both in the theory and the practise of children's education, as her *First Steps to the Study of History* (1832) showed and her later influential role in the introduction of the kindergarten to America was to prove. Her influence on Sophia was to continue when in 1820 Elizabeth set up her school in Lancaster, with both of her sisters as students. Her fondness for her younger sister led to her first choice of Sophia to take over the school in Hallowell, Maine, in 1824. It was Mary, however, who went. Even Sophia's beginnings in French under "Mons Lou-

11. The interrogation is properly Julian's. His father had been the first of the Hawthornes to go to college.

vosier" (probably Peter Charles Louvier) were to be developed by Elizabeth by encouraging Sophia's translations from Baron Joseph Marie de Gérando for the students in the Boston school. Elizabeth Peabody's testimony on these exercises by Sophia makes it interesting to speculate on what Sophia's share might have been in the text of Gérando's *Self-Education; or, The Means and Art of Moral Progress* which was published in 1830 in Boston. Although the book does not carry Elizabeth's name, she is credited with being the author of the translation. But Sophia's work may not have gone entirely to waste.

Not the least of Elizabeth's influence on her sister, however, was the encouragement of Sophia's career as an artist. Her hand is to be felt everywhere in the shaping of Sophia's talent. Francis Graeter, Sophia's first professional teacher of drawing, taught in Miss Peabody's school, where Mary Channing, the daughter of William Ellery Channing, and other young Bostonians were pupils. Thomas Doughty, the landscape painter, originally from Philadelphia, had moved to Boston in 1832 and set up his school there. It was Elizabeth who interested him in her sister's talent. Perhaps it was also through her intervention that Sophia was able to copy a canvas by Robert Salmon, the English marine painter who had come to Boston in 1828. At any rate it is clear that Elizabeth's association with Washington Allston, Channing's brother-in-law, then considered America's leading painter, brought about his help and the chance to copy "A Spanish Girl in Reverie" (now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art). A career as an artist was Sophia's goal in the 1830's, and at intervals she shared a studio in Boston with her friend Mary Newhall. Sophia was even able to sell many of her paintings, both originals and copies, but no reward for her art was greater than that which Hawthorne gave in 1839 when he printed a special edition of *The Gentle Boy*, to contain her drawing of the Quaker boy and Hawthorne's dedication to her. If as a young woman in 1832 Sophia could dream of an artist's life abroad with Elizabeth ("Pack up Betty and let us be off and live in Rome— . . . the retreat of the arts and graces. . . ."), it was like a dream come even more richly, although differently, true when she could at last write as Hawthorne's wife to Elizabeth from Rome, "where Sarah Clarke said, years ago, that my children would some day play."

Julian's record of Elizabeth Peabody's account of events from about 1820 to 1835 follows.

"The religious controversies that ended in changing all the old Puritan churches of Boston and Salem from Calvinism to Liberal and Unitarian Christianity, denying the total depravity of man and the vicarious atonement of Jesus, and affirming his unfallen humanity,—were raging in my early childhood, and divided all families. My aunts Curtis and Putnam became Calvinists. Aunt Pickman and especially mother remained liberal, mother being very devout; and I heard all the terrible doctrines, but sympathised with mother; and indeed it seemed personally original with me to reject Calvinism, and I early clearly felt the moral argument against it. But these dreadful doctrines and my protest kept my mind in a great ferment, and when I was ten years old, and very precocious, I took Sophia (with mother's consent) under my religious guardianship, determined she never should hear of any of the terrible doctrines; and she was an instance, if ever there was one in the world, of a child growing up full of the Idea of God and the perfect man Jesus,—and of the possibility as well as the duty—but rather privilege than duty,—of growing up innocent and forever improving, with the simple creed that everything that can happen to a human being is either for enjoyment in the present or instruction for the future; and that even our faults and all our sufferings from others' faults were means of development into new forms of good and beauty.

"When I was sixteen and your mother eleven, I took my school in Lancaster in the house, and Mary and Sophia were among my few scholars. They never went to any other school. I taught History as a chief study, — the History of the United States, not in textbooks for schools, but Miss Hannah Adams History of New England, which might have been entitled "The Providence of God in New England", — and Rollin's Ancient History, and Plutarch's Lives. Sophia was intensely interested and liked to have in the recitations the part of comparing the heroes that occur in Plutarch's Lives, and summing-up their heroic deeds, as occurs constantly in Rollin; and I remember with what enthusiasm she would do this. I left Lancaster at 18 to keep school in Boston, —

in a high heroic mood, intending to get money to educate at College my brothers, — and that summer I wrote to Sophia half-a-dozen letters of advice in regard to her self-education in religion, and the morals of daily life: to which she wrote enthusiastic letters of acceptance. This was in 1822 when she was 13 years old; and I remember she would tell me—give me accounts of a volume of Fawcett's Sermons which she read with great delight. "not because it was Sunday," as I remember she said, "but because they were beautiful and sublime."

"When the family went to Salem in 1828 they lived in a house near the water at the end of Court Street, and had to suffer many hardships. Sophia's headache increased, and she became unable to bear the noise of knives and forks, and would take her food upstairs, — and also often have to retreat in the evening when all the boys were at home. They went to the Salem Latin School and had terrible hard lessons under old Eames—who was a most severe master, flogging for mistakes in recitation: so that Mary and Sophia (when she could) would have them learn all their lessons perfectly and say them in the evening; and the boys often brought home companions who had no such help at home, that they might also be helped so as to prevent these cruel punishments. Miss Rawling Pickman paid Mons Louvoisier to teach her French, and he used to come to the house, and insisted on Sophia's learning too. He was a wonderful teacher; often stayed three hours; required enormous study and writing of French, and carried them through all the classic facts of France, — and much of the prose literature besides. Meantime I broke up in Boston and went down on an invitation from the Vaughan family of Hallowell to keep school there; and your mother and Aunt Mary wrote me letters giving accounts of their studies, and also of very interesting interesting intercourse they had with a charming Mrs. Morland, and the Chases. — And in 1824, when I was invited to become governess in R. H. Gardiner's family in Gardiner, I sent for Mary to come to take my school in Hallowell, and went to Gardiner six miles off. During those two years Sophia wrote and told us of her studies; for with all her suffering she studied Italian, and during the time undertook, for the sake of learning to draw, to teach a little class of children in Miss Davis's school, in which she succeeded, and took ten lessons; and her drawing was so perfect in

each lesson that it looked like a model. She never made a false stroke. But the exertion was too much for her, and she was thrown into a sickness, from which she never rose into the possibility of so much excitation again; and by a slight accident was disabled in the hand and could not draw.

"When studying Italian, her letters to us were so interesting that showing them to Miss Emma Gardiner, she invited her to come down and make a visit. She did so, and interested the family and also the Vaughan family in Hallowell immensely. It was her first visit into the world, for a long time, for she went home and grew worse. In 1825 Mary and I left the banks of the Kennebec for Brookline, where we lived a year and a half, and then came into Boston in the fall of 1826. In 1827 Lydia Sears (afterwards Mrs. S. F. Haven) went to Salem, and the family lived in Lyndon Street, and then it was that she undertook, for the sake of learning to draw to etc. [sic] It was in 1828, while they were still living in Lyndon Street, that we who had been living in a house with Mr. Wm. Russell, which we expected would be a permanent home, were left by Mr. Russell to find a new one, as he was obliged for his health's sake to leave and go to the country; so we found a house in Colonnade Row, and sent for the family to come to Boston; and Father made the plan of going down to Salem every other week to practise dentistry. We lived in Boston about four years, moving in 1836 into Tremont Place. While in Boston, the Boston physicians one after another tried their hands at curing her, as the Salem physicians had done, and she went through courses of their poisons, each one bringing her to death's door, and leaving her less able to cope with the pain they did not reach. But the endurance of her physical constitution defied all the poisons of the *materia medica*, — mercury, arsenic, opium, hyoscyamus, etc. etc. Her last allopathic physician was Dr. Walter Channing, who limited himself to fighting the pain and alleviating the extremes without attempting radical cure. He was a delightful friend, and during these four years she enjoyed the elite of our Boston friends, who admired and loved her for the exquisite character she showed, and her unvarying sweetness. But all these years mother was her devoted nurse, — watching in the entries that no door should be hard shut, etc. Sophia was never without pain, but she had times when it was not so extreme but that she

could read. She then read Degerando, and translated it for me to read to my pupils; and Plato; and saw friends in her chamber. I had a school of 40 scholars, and she became interested in them, and they would go into her room; and the necessity of keeping still in the house so as not to disturb her, was my means of governing my school: for they all spontaneously governed themselves. I never knew any human creature who had more sovereign power over everybody—grown and child—that came into her sweet and gracious presence. Her brothers reverenced and idolised her. She was for some years the single influence that tamed Mary Channing. In 1830, when she was living on *hyoscyamus*, which did her less harm than any drug, she was able to come downstairs occasionally and into my schoolroom on drawing days, and hear Dr. Grüter [Graeter] lecture: and one day she undertook to copy a little pastoral landscape with the pencil. This was after four years inability to draw—the next thing after the ten lessons above mentioned. Mr. Graeter occasionally went and looked over her shoulder. At last she looked up and said "Have you no word of criticism for me?" He replied "I can only envy you." After that she did a good deal with her pencil, and many of the friends who visited intimately at the house, and some of my scholars who were her pets, have those gems of the pencil. Then Doughty came to Boston and opened a school of painting, and Sarah Clarke, with whom I had become acquainted at that time, went and took lessons of him. He gave the lessons by painting and letting his pupils look on; and then they would take canvases and imitate in his absence what they saw him do; and then he would come and put on another layer. But he never explained or answered a question. Now Mr. Graeter had from the time he saw her drawing of the pastoral scene, and heard how little instruction and how little practice she had had,—wished her to take up oil painting all by herself,—finding out the means by the *Encyclopedia*! So it occurred to me that Doughty might come to paint a picture in her sight; and I brought this about. She would lie on the bed, and he had his easel close by. Every day in the interval of his lessons she would imitate what he had done on another canvas, and her copy of his landscape was even better than his, so that when they were displayed side by side, everybody guessed her copy was the original Doughty. She then by herself

copied one of Salmon's sea-pieces perfectly, and did two or three pieces by coloring copies she made from uncolored engravings. And then I succeeded in borrowing a highly-finished landscape of Allston's, which she copied so perfectly that, being framed alike, when the two pictures were seen together, even Franklin Dexter did not at once see which was which.

"Just at this time, in 1831, or 1832, I had been greatly tired by intense sympathy with a great tragedy in a circle of my friends; and mother's health broke down; and some other domestic services quite broke me down, on whom too great responsibility rested; and I felt I could not do my duty to my scholars without a change. And I dropped my school entirely, broke up our establishment, and my parents returned to Salem. During that summer Sophia went on the Middlesex canal to Lowell on a visit to her friend Mrs. Sam. S. Haven. Your Aunt Mary went to New York as governess of Dr. Channing's children, and I made a visit to New Bedford. When I announced to your mother this plan which would return her to Salem, after this interesting four years in Boston,—for the first time in her life she broke down, and with tears said, "hopeless misery!" I was unprepared for this. She had always met every circumstance with such victorious faith. But it was a transient mood. When I told all the reasons, she smiled again bravely and began to think of her friends the Whites and Chases, and Miss Pickman, who had bought her Allston. (I forgot to say that all her pictures after the first she had sold at good prices). Before she went to Salem, she went to Mrs. Rice's for a visit, where she painted the Rembrandt and Sappho, a picture of the age of Louis XVI: and two other landscapes, subsequently bought by Mr. William Pickman, and Col Pickman bought the Rembrandt. While she was at Mrs. Rice's, Mr. Allston, who had heard of her successful copy of his picture, went to see her; and as soon as he saw it, began to speak of her going to Europe and devoting herself to the Art, which he thought she had shown such unmistakable genius for. She told him she was an invalid; and, as next best, he said she should get masterpieces to copy—nothing second-hand. She said she had tried to get his Spanish Maiden to copy, but Mr. Clarke, its owner, said Allston exacted a promise of those who purchased his pictures, never to permit them to be copied. At this Mr. Allston flushed with indignation, and said

gentlemen had no right to make him partner of their meanness. He should be proud to have her copy everything he had painted, and he believed she could do so. But he said he claimed no right over his own pictures after he had sold them.

"Well, she went to Salem, and then the family went to live in the little house in the street parallel with Church Street, eastward: and she was the sunshine in the shady place, and was the sunshine in the shady place, and was happy to find mother essentially changed for the better. Her first vacation of her life having given her a chance to rise up from the grave of toil she had lived through for years. We had supposed it was premature old age. This fact made Sophia very happy. The next year came the great chance for her to go to the tropics. We had resumed our school in Boston, boarding with Mrs. Clarke in Somerset Place. I there became acquainted with Mr. Mann, who became a widower in 1832, and left Dedham for Boston. We broke up our school to let Mary go to Cuba; and they went. It was not till the next August that even the heat of the tropics gave Sophia her first perspiration and relief from the pain that had never remitted entirely for an hour in twelve years. They returned in the Spring of 1835, but had a long terrible voyage of storms and cold, which undid the good she had attained and brought back her headaches.

"It was then that she returned to Salem and found the family in Charter Street. And then in a few months Mary joined her, and in 1836 I joined her; and then in 1837 we became acquainted with your father; and the letters I send are those she wrote me the next year when I was away at Newton for six or eight months. ['']

Julian's notebook includes also this final paragraph from Elizabeth Peabody.

"A glimpse into our family life at Salem during the period Sophia was getting acquainted with Mr. Hawthorne, and before she had a glimpse of the truth that, in his own mind, he was consecrating himself to her,—although he thought at that period, and until 1840 I think, that "she was a flower to be worn in no man's bosom", as he exquisitely expressed it in a letter to me, but "lent to us to show what heaven really is." They became engaged in 1840; it was conditional on her recovery. She said if it was the will of God that they should marry, He would make

her well. He said, Far be it from me to snatch before Providence wills it. It was the coming together of two self-sufficing worlds, and yet had all the glow of the rush together of young hearts. She was, when she was married, perfectly well, and 32 years old,—and he was 37,—thoroughly disciplined characters, at peace with God and man; and their first developed love (as they both assured me). In the three years' engagement there was daily intercourse, either *viva-voce* or by pen and ink; and she said they had not one misunderstanding of five minutes' duration. She also told me, in the last part of her life, that he so respected the delicacy of constitution incident to so many years, (twenty years) of suffering, that he proposed they should have but three children, and that there should be two and a half years between the first two, and five years between the second and third. And this was what happened, for, as she added, "Mr. Hawthorne's passions were under his feet." They took care of Una and Julian entirely themselves, without the intervention of a servant, and of Rose till they went to England. When Sophia was not able to walk and dress them, he did it; and, as they had no little companions, he read stories to them. And Una did not begin to read till she was seven.

EDITING THE AMERICAN NOTEBOOKS

By RANDALL STEWART

BACK IN THE SPRING OF 1928 I entered the Morgan Library with a copy of Mrs. Hawthorne's *Passages from the American Notebooks* under my arm. The Library had recently acquired the manuscripts of Hawthorne's journals, and I was curious to see if Mrs. Hawthorne had made a faithful transcription. I found, of course, that she had not: she had not transcribed, but re-written. I proceeded with the collation as fast as my duties as instructor at Yale would permit. It was an exciting time for me. I sometimes forgot to go out for lunch.

After consultation with Stanley Williams and other professors in the Department, it was decided that I might prepare under Professor Williams' direction an edition of the American Notebooks and submit it as my doctoral dissertation. This meant that there must be an elaborate editorial apparatus. It was fun visiting libraries, copying letters, getting photostats from the Huntington (microfilm came in, a little later). Fun, too, writing, the introductory chapters (and here Mr. Williams' counsel was especially helpful) on "Mrs. Hawthorne's Revisions," "The Adaptation of Material from the American Notebooks in Hawthorne's Tales and Novels," "The Development of Character Types," and "Recurrent Themes" in Hawthorne's fiction. All told, the text, introduction, and notes filled more than 1,000 typewritten pages when the completed job was submitted to the Yale Graduate Faculty in 1930.

In 1932, the Yale Press published the work substantially as it was, despite the fact that some of the introductory material went well beyond the bounds of the text of the Notebooks. The first impression of 500 copies was sold within a few months, but the second impression of 700 copies required nearly ten years to dispose of. Although the Depression was on, the Yale Press treated me with great generosity: they not only required no subsidy, but paid me the usual 10% royalty, which (it was a five dollar book) came to a total of \$600. Obviously, this wasn't much of a money-making business for either editor or publisher. The book has been out of print since 1942.

The day of publication, the New York *Times* ran a story on Mrs. Hawthorne's revisions. They afforded a good deal of amusement, all around. I, of course, had played them up, and I think rightly so. They not only justified the new edition, but they were important in themselves. They showed the clever mind of a genteel Victorian female at work; in fact, on the strength of them, Mrs. Hawthorne has become the classic example, at least in America, of the genteel Victorian female. But the tone of my chapter dealing with these matters was wrong. It was too sharp, too castigatory.

Some years later, when I read, in the Boston Public Library, and excerpted and summarized them for *More Books*, Mrs. Hawthorne's letters to James T. Fields, it became apparent that Fields had been a fairly active collaborator in the work of editing Hawthorne's Notebooks. Whether he was aware of the extent of the rewriting is not entirely clear, but he acquiesced in the omission of certain substantial portions—for example, the "Twenty Days with Julian and Little Bunny"—which he agreed with Mrs. Hawthorne in thinking too personal for publication.

The editing had been a happy employment for Mrs. Hawthorne. Her hours "sang," she told Fields, as she labored over the manuscripts: "all the heavenly springtime" of her married life came back to her, she said, in Hawthorne's "cadences, so rich and delicate." Moreover, she needed money. Hawthorne's Consulate savings were dwindling away. Fields published *Passages from the American Notebooks* in the *Atlantic Monthly* (of which he was editor) in twelve instalments in 1866 at \$100 an instalment, and brought out the combined instalments in book form the following year.

A good deal can be said for the view that Mrs. Hawthorne was trying not so much to misrepresent her husband, or remake his writing closer to her heart's desire, as to do the kind of revising which Hawthorne himself would have done. Of course, with her sometimes mistaken notions of language, and delicacy, she made many revisions which would have been abhorrent to the author. But much of her rewriting was similar—and this point I did not sufficiently stress in the Introduction—to the kind of rewriting which Hawthorne himself had done when he adapted notebook material in his tales and novels.

This raises the question of genteelism, which was a blight in nineteenth-century American literature, and which not even Hawthorne entirely escaped. From the standpoint of modern taste, at least, the prose of the Notebooks is better than that of the tales and novels, being simpler, more indigenous, nearer the colloquial, less "literary." It is seen at its best, perhaps, in the North Adams journal of 1838, where the writing is earthy and plain. *The Scarlet Letter*, I think, would be an even greater book if it had been written in this early notebook style. Not that *The Scarlet Letter* is genteel, but the prose illustrates a kind of literary genteelism. Hemingway's oft-quoted statement that modern American literature began with *Huckleberry Finn* contains much truth, and I do not mean to suggest that Hawthorne's Notebooks often approach the colloquialism of Mark Twain. But I think the early notebook prose is plain enough, unliterary enough, to suggest a revision backward of Hemingway's famous dictum.

Another error of the Introduction was a focusing on the tributary role of the Notebooks. They were regarded as of interest and value primarily as a source of the tales and novels. Had there been no tales and novels, I seemed to imply, the Notebooks would hardly be worth attending to. But this view I believe to be quite wrong. Not that the tales and novels are to be denigrated in the least, or that any scrap of material wherever found which contributed in the slightest way to their making is not of great interest and importance. But the American Notebooks are a classic, a unique classic, in their own right. Henry James' Notebooks are interesting largely in their relation to his fiction; Hawthorne's have a certain independent value.

Hawthorne said that New England was about as large a lump of this earth as his heart could readily take in, and the American Notebooks show how truly he has taken in New England. It is the rich New Englandism, so closely observed, so precisely recorded, which makes the book a New England classic. First, New England scenes—the mountains of Western Massachusetts, the meadows of Concord, the urban sights in and around Boston—are described with pictorial art. Hawthorne thought of himself as a painter, the pen-strokes were brush-strokes, the page a canvas. Second, New England people—stagecoach drivers, hog drovers, and not only rustics but men of intellect and position,

a member of Congress from Maine, a historical scholar at work in the Boston Athenaeum—these were the subjects of his portraiture. Lowell spoke of Hawthorne's "fine accipitral look," and a North Adams villager told him he had something of the "hawk-eye" in his mien. This art of portraiture he cultivated long and painstakingly, and with so much objectivity that his portraits seemed "cold" to some readers; and cold they are with (as Eliot has suggested) the coldness of art.

If it is objected that the American Notebooks are not entirely satisfactory as a New England classic because there is no Transcendentalism in them, it must be admitted that Hawthorne was not a Transcendentalist, at least in the Emersonian sense, which is the accepted sense. Hawthorne and Emerson did not see eye to eye. They started from exactly opposite premises concerning the nature of man: Emerson from the premise of innate goodness, Hawthorne from the premise of innate sinfulness. But whatever modern New England may or may not have become, it is safe to assume, I think, that Hawthorne spoke for a vast majority of the New Englanders of his time, and Emerson for a small minority.

And now that this New England classic has been out of print for some sixteen years and more, the managers of the Columbia University Press (very commendably) have felt that a new edition is desirable. They have asked me if I would prepare one, and if so, what specific plans I would propose. I have gladly consented, and have made the following proposals. First, a re-collation of the text, and the restoration of the inked-out passages, most of which can now be recovered by the aid of infra-red photography. Second, the inclusion of those passages in Mrs. Hawthorne's edition whose manuscript originals have not survived. These passages are very useful, they are (though bowdlerized) a part of the American Notebooks, and their omission from the 1932 edition was a mistake which can be explained perhaps by the youthful editor's too strict view of textual authority. Third, a large reduction of the Notes, and their location at the foot of the page. The information contained in the Notes is now so easily available in recent books about Hawthorne that I do not think it necessary to reprint them *in extenso*. And fourth, the omission of the old

long Introduction and the substitution of a new short Introduction. The Columbia Press has approved these arrangements, and it is now expected that the new edition will appear within a reasonable length of time.

The omission of those old introductory chapters on "The Development of Character Types" and "Recurrent Themes" costs me a small pang. I am a little sentimental about them, though I haven't had the courage to reread them in many years. They were once admired by some, and used by many. They were "pioneer" work. But they, like the Notes, long since became part of the public domain. To reprint them now seems quite unnecessary. There have been in recent years so many analyses of Hawthorne's characters and themes, and of such subtlety and sophistication, that those early sketches must strike the modern student as fairly rough work.

The last twenty years or so have been the golden age of Hawthorne criticism. Hawthorne's art and his "usable truth" (as Melville called it) have never before been so profoundly appreciated and so skilfully explicated. I like to think that the 1932 Notebooks contributed to this modern interest in Hawthorne. They showed Hawthorne in a new light, a truer and more attractive light than he had been seen in before, and many who saw him in the new light were interested in what they saw. The 1932 Notebooks, I like to think, made new friends for Hawthorne, and these new friends helped to make the modern renaissance of Hawthorne studies.

PARADISE LOST AND "YOUNG GOODMAN BROWN"

By B. BERNARD COHEN

ALTHOUGH HAWTHORNE'S deep interest in Milton has been noticed by scholars, no one has, I believe, made a detailed study of the relationship of *Paradise Lost* to "Young Goodman Brown."¹ Actually Hawthorne used in this short story some of the narrative pattern and specific details from the ninth and tenth books of *Paradise Lost*. More significant, as has been suggested, Brown's experience is basically a reversal of the re-birth phase of the Adamic myth.² To put the matter simply, after his initiation into sin—or, in the devil's phrase, "the communion of your race"—Brown becomes what Adam would have been after the fall without understanding of sin, without compassion for Eve, without humility, without repentance, without faith. What Adam acquires from the taste of evil, Brown loses. Whereas Milton wishes to expound a theological justification of God's part in the fall and restoration of man,³ Hawthorne seeks to show the psychological process by which sin can destroy a human soul. It is significant, I think, that Hawthorne's psychological study of the fall of a man

1. For Hawthorne's interest in Milton, see, for example, F. O. Matthiessen, *American Renaissance* (New York, 1941), pp. 305-312; Frank Davidson, "Hawthorne's Hive of Honey," *Modern Language Notes*, LXI (January 1946), 14-21; and Randall Stewart, ed., *The American Notebooks by Nathaniel Hawthorne* (New Haven, 1932), pp. xlxi, lii, liii. Q. D. Leavis suggests a parallel between Old Goodman Brown and Old Adam. See "Hawthorne as a Poet," *Sewanee Review*, LIX (Spring 1951), 195. Richard P. Adams has pointed out a broad parallel between Adam and Young Goodman Brown. See "Hawthorne's Provincial Tales," *New England Quarterly*, XXX (March 1957), 56. Although I do not agree with Professor Adams' interpretation of Milton and of "Young Goodman Brown," I appreciate his corroboration of the relationship between the two which has interested me for a long time.

2. Adams, *loc. cit.*, p. 56. Professor Adams also suggests (pp. 54-57) that Milton uses the "pattern of symbolic death and rebirth" in a static way, whereas the romantics, including Hawthorne, make it "dynamic." For Hawthorne's contribution to the development of an Adamic myth in America, see R. W. B. Lewis, *The American Adam* (Chicago, 1955), pp. 110-126.

3. I have benefited from numerous articles and books written about Milton and *Paradise Lost*; but because I make no claim to being a Milton scholar, I do not wish to enter into the complicated controversies among students of *Paradise Lost*. Although I am stressing Milton's theology, I am perfectly aware of the work of critics who emphasize Milton as a poet rather than as a theologian. My purpose is to present Milton as I think Hawthorne might have interpreted him.

representative of mental distortions is posed against the backdrop of Salem witchcraft.

Hawthorne's psychological approach is evident in the seeming reversal of the male and female roles in the re-enactment of the story of Adam and Eve. With consummate irony, Hawthorne jumbles into Brown's dream the two separate falls of Adam and Eve into one—Brown's.⁴ In the earlier portion of the story Brown, like Eve, leaves the security and comfort of a mate, and abandons a state of wholesome order—emotional, moral, and spiritual—to face the disruptive force of Satan's temptation. With the descent of Faith's pink ribbon before him, Brown seems to drop the role of Eve and assume that of Adam, for in Brown's vision Faith's surrender to the devil is the equivalent of Eve's. The revealing difference in the falls of the two central male characters lies in the fact that Adam's *knowledge*—not suspicion or vision—of Eve's sin leads him to eat of the forbidden fruit, whereas Brown "partakes of the mystery of sin" because he *thinks* that Faith has become evil at the very moment that he himself is degenerating morally, spiritually, and psychologically. While Brown feels that Faith has succumbed, it is really his faith in man and God which has fallen. The ambiguity involved in Brown's combining the roles of Adam and Eve is peculiarly apt in view of his dubious evidence against Faith and in view of Hawthorne's artistic pattern of shifting shades and shadows in Brown's dream of the universality of sin.⁵

4. For corroboration of the interpretation of Brown's experience in the forest as a dream, see John W. Shroeder, "'That Inward Sphere': Notes on Hawthorne's Heart Imagery and Symbolism," *PMLA*, LXV (March 1950), 113-114. Despite the much discussed ambiguity concerning whether Brown dreamed or had a real experience, Hawthorne seems to choose the dream himself in a passage after he offers his readers a choice: "Be it so if you will; but alas! it was a dream of evil omen for Young Goodman Brown. A stern, a sad, a darkly meditative, a distrustful, if not a desperate man did he become from the night of that fearful dream." The two references to the dream could not be accidental or ambiguous. This quotation and all citations from "Young Goodman Brown" are in George Parsons Lathrop, ed., *The Complete Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, Riverside Edition (Boston, 1882), II, 89-106.

5. For studies of the artistry of "Young Goodman Brown," see Richard Harter Fogle, "Ambiguity and Clarity in Hawthorne's 'Young Goodman Brown,'" *NEQ*, XVIII (December 1945), 448-465—revised for publication in Professor Fogle's *Hawthorne's Fiction* (Norman, 1952). Also see Leland Schubert, *Hawthorne, the Artist* (Chapel Hill, 1944), pp. 79-80, 114-117.

Once we accept this obscure merging of the roles of Adam and Eve as a psychological manifestation of Brown's dream which explodes with fear, suspicion, and guilt, we can detect a similarity in the over-all patterns of the two narratives: the separation of the mates for journeys toward sin and temptation, Eve from Adam, and Brown from Faith; the juxtaposition of premonitions within one partner and false faith within the other; the devil images and their temptations; and the effects of the fall during the reunions of the mates. Within this broad framework numerous similarities will appear; at the same time the differences resulting from Milton's concern with a *felix culpa* and Hawthorne's interest in aberrations of the human mind during the witchcraft era of Salem will be apparent.⁶ In each instance, however, the soul of man is at stake: Adam's will be redeemed by Christ; Brown's will be given to the devil.

II

Hawthorne's narrative begins at the point in Book IX where Milton depicts the scene of separation.⁷ Within each partner who departs there exists a pre-knowledge of the existence of sin, and possibly a compulsion toward realization of this forbidden fruit. Since Eve's basic weaknesses have already been stressed,⁸ her plea to Adam to permit her to work alone in a remote corner of the Garden is based on her pride, self-love, and curiosity—a curiosity about the nature of evil and about her ability to withstand it. Similarly, Hawthorne conveys through Brown a kind of unwilling attraction toward evil. The word *must* used twice by Brown in connection with his undefined mission suggests compulsion. In

6. Professor Harry G. Fairbanks sees a correspondence between the *felix culpa* in *Paradise Lost* and *The Marble Faun*. His entire essay argues against an interpretation of Hawthorne's acceptance of natural depravity and presents the positive side of Hawthorne's concepts of sin and free will. See "Sin, Free Will, and 'Pessimism' in Hawthorne," *PMLA*, LXXXI (December 1956), 975-989.

7. The structure of "Young Goodman Brown" consists of a long dream sequence framed by two brief portions almost equal in space, but not in the amount of time covered. The frame includes the departure from and return to Faith. Starting with the journey into the forest, the story becomes essentially Brown's vision of his own two-part temptation by the devil. Thus the central portion of the story is one of Hawthorne's most detailed artistic representations of the temptations of evil.

8. See, for example, IV, 449-491, 797-809; V, 28-128; IX, 274-278. All references to *Paradise Lost* are to John Milton, *Complete Poems and Major Prose*, ed. Merritt Y. Hughes (New York, 1957).

his mind the journey is related to an evil or "guilty purpose," and, more specifically, it is explained later by Hawthorne as "the instinct that guides mortal man to evil," a statement which can be interpreted as a loose definition of the Calvinistic belief in the depravity of man. Although Brown seems vaguely aware of the evil implicit in his mission, Eve rationalizes the instinct toward knowledge of evil which impels her to leave Adam. Yet each moves toward the devil with a seeming freedom of will, coupled paradoxically with a compulsive curiosity, and with the naive hope that he will return to precisely the state which he leaves.

In both narratives the other mate is filled with premonitions of disaster resulting from the impending separations. In response to Eve's request, Adam stresses the danger of Satan's "sly assault," about which Raphael has warned him. In similar fashion, Faith shows concern for both herself and Brown when she utters the pathetically prayerful remark, "Then God bless you! . . . and may you find all well when you come back." Perhaps her own awareness of Brown's basic insecurity is operating here: like Adam through his response to Eve's request to withdraw, Faith is indicating a distrust of Brown's ability to withstand temptation if he ventures into the great Puritan forest of doubts and suspicions.

Adam's premonitions are reinforced by his knowledge of Eve's dream, during which Satan as a toad had captured her ear.⁹ Hawthorne likewise reflects the underlying insecurity of the husband and wife through references to dreams. Faith is disturbed by the thought that a lone woman might be troubled by dreams which will make her afraid of herself. And when Brown leaves her, he reflects about her reference to these dreams: "Methought as she spoke there was trouble in her face, as if a dream had warned her what work is to be done tonight." This warning, which is a reflection of his fear of himself, parallels precisely the foreshadowing in Eve's dream—the evil work that is to be done. In both cases the doubts indicate that the devil is already operating, even before he leads his victims into overt temptation.

In each instance the fears of one mate are countered by statements of faith from those impelled to separation. When Adam tries

9. See IV, 797-809; V, 28-128. Eve's account of the dream to Adam depicts a temptation scene. Brown's dream, as has been noted, is an involved sequence of temptation also.

through reasoning to show Eve the danger of her request, she responds with a belligerent declaration of her "firm faith and love" which cannot be "seduced" (IX, 286-287). Brown's awareness of the impending test of these same qualities in him is reflected in his faith in prayers as a guardian against the evil dreams which his wife fears, and by his thought that after this one night (note how both Hawthorne and Milton stress the *one* cataclysmic experience!) he will cling to Faith's skirts and follow her to heaven. And finally Eve's ringing condemnation of Adam's distrust (IX, 322-341) is mirrored in the more gentle words of Brown: "What, my sweet, pretty wife, dost thou doubt me already, and we but three months married?" In both instances the faith is false, hiding a deep curiosity about sin: Eve resorts to specious reasoning, and Brown really shows his weakness by picturing himself as being led into heaven by the skirts of his wife Faith.

III

After the separation scene "Young Goodman Brown" does not follow Milton's epic as closely. Seeking to heighten the temptation sequence, Hawthorne made important alterations in details which had been used by Milton, adapting them to a different purpose.

The approach to the temptation scene is quite different: Satan sees Eve banked in beautiful flowers redolent of the beauty of an Eden to be lost. Brown, on the other hand, moves immediately into a forest on "a dreary road" made dark by gloomy trees, and in his loneliness he begins to sense "an unseen multitude." Milton's clear image of Eve before the temptation has no psychological purpose, but it does stress the greatness of what is to be lost by Eve and Adam. The ambiguity created by Hawthorne reflects the growth of fear and suspicion in Brown's mind even before he faces the tempter.

In a similar fashion, the two important elements of nature in the temptation scenes—the tree of knowledge and the forest—clearly demonstrate the different interests of Milton and Hawthorne. The tree is, of course, a theological symbol representative of the test of obedience to God. The forest, however, is symbolical of Brown's own mind, or of "his own troubled heart, peopled by the fiends of his own fantasy. . . ."¹⁰

10. Shroeder, *loc. cit.*, p. 113.

Quite different also is the form of the tempter. Satan appears in the guise of the pleasing and lovely serpent, which marks another symbolical step in the degeneration taking place in him after the second book of *Paradise Lost*. But the devil image in "Young Goodman Brown" is promoted to human form and bears a resemblance to Brown himself. Perhaps Hawthorne was here taking a hint from Milton and advancing the narcissism implicit in Eve's looking into the pool (IV, 449-491); more important, however, his symbolism betrays Brown's subconscious awareness of his own potential sin and foreshadows the fact that by the end of the story he himself will be a kind of Satan in human form.

Although Hawthorne is here operating within a psychological medium, he does ally the devil who appears at Brown's side with the serpent of Eve's story. The "elder traveller" carries a remarkable staff which wriggles "like a living serpent." Although this simile recalls the traditional view of Satan during the temptation of Eve, Hawthorne immediately introduces a psychological perspective by referring to the wriggling of the staff as "an ocular deception," one of numerous details which will establish a haziness, a loss of touch with reality, in Brown's dream.

During the temptations Milton and Hawthorne also use different psychological approaches to move Eve and Brown toward overt acceptance of sin. The devil's rhetorical persuasion is magnificently designed to appeal to Eve's fatal flaws. Milton's serpent flatters Eve: he emphasizes her "Celestial Beauty," calls her "Empress of this fair World," and stimulates her vanity and pride by asking

. . . but here

In this enclosure wild, these Beasts among,
Beholders rude, and shallow to discern
Half what in thee is fair, one man except,
Who sees thee? (and what is one?) who shouldst be seen
A Goddess among Gods, ador'd and serv'd
By Angels numberless, thy daily Train. (IX, 542-548)

Passionately defending the right of man to knowledge, Satan entices her by false reasoning:

And what are Gods that Man may not become
As they, participating God-like food? (IX, 716-717)

Although Eve's appetite has been stirred in the noon-day heat,¹¹ it is basically her pride in contemplating heaven for herself that deceives her. Thus, through the defects of appetite, hybris, and an inability to penetrate false reasoning, Eve succumbs to Satan's lure and eats of the forbidden tree of knowledge.¹²

In keeping with his purpose of showing the decline of a mind warped by guilt and suspicions, Hawthorne is far more subtle in detailing the stages of temptation through which Brown moves. In his dream Brown actually seems to undergo two temptations, and the basic intention of Satan in each is not to inflate his pride, as the serpent does with Eve, but to destroy completely his spiritual security. To that end the devil-traveller uses rhetorical persuasion in the first temptation, which is conveyed through a series of vignettes or visions in which Brown's faith in his family, his spiritual advisers, and his Faith is shattered. In the first tableau the devil, through sophistry akin to that of Satan in *Paradise Lost*, very deliberately undermines Brown's pride in the good Christian name of his family. When the devil image also implies that he knows of the evil of deacons and of officers of the state, Brown is visibly shaken. His response seems to be a clear echo of Adam's words after his fall. Brown says to the devil, " 'But, were I to go on with thee, how should I meet the eye of that good old man, our minister, at Salem Village? Oh, his voice would make me tremble both Sabbath day and lecture day.' " During a lament about his evil plight Adam muses,

11. Further evidence of the different approaches of Milton and Hawthorne can be discovered in their use of light and shade. Milton's portrayal of the fall of Eve occurs at noon. Brown's journey begins in the dusk of sunset, and as he goes deeper into the forest he becomes completely enveloped by darkness. After the fall of Adam and Eve, Milton refers to their darkened minds (IX, 1053-1054).

12. The psychology Milton uses has, of course, overtones of the Platonic concept, popular during the Renaissance, that reason and appetite vie for supremacy of the soul. Although this psychology is not unlike Hawthorne's interpretation of the conflict between head and heart which frequently unbalances his major characters, his approach to the temptation of Brown is quite different from Milton's. For the relationship to Hawthorne of Milton's use of the conflict between reason and passion, see Davidson, pp. 19-21. Here Giovanni in "Rappaccini's Daughter" is presented as a victim of Fancy. One can say the same about Brown. After their falls, Adam and Eve are deluded by the fancy that they are attaining Godhead. See IX, 785-790, 1009-1011. Cf. IV, 801-803; V, 100-113; VIII, 292-295; IX, 633-642.

How shall I behold the face
 Henceforth of God or Angel, erst with joy
 And rapture so oft beheld? those heav'nly shapes
 Will dazzle now this earthly, with thir blaze
 Insufferably bright. (IX, 1080-1084)

This parallel of minister to God and of the sound of the minister's voice to the painful light of heaven offers striking evidence of Hawthorne's method. Actually at the time Brown echoes the words of Adam, he is in Eve's position before her fall. Yet his words, so similar to those uttered by Adam after his disobedience in Eden, really predict Brown's own fall.

Other brief scenes, each emphasizing the uncertainty in Brown's mind and his inability to determine reality, lead to his surrender to the devil. In the first of these, Brown thinks that he sees and hears Goody Cloyse, his spiritual adviser, uttering the lore of witchcraft to the devil image. After this experience he still clings to Faith. But, with Brown now alone, new sounds in the forest introduce another vision in which he hears the voices of his minister and of Deacon Gookin. Shaken by their impiety, he again turns to Faith as his foothold against the overwhelming images infesting his mind. The final tableau in this phase of the temptation is designed to destroy the bulwark of security which has sustained him heretofore. As he is pushed deeper and deeper into the murmuring forest,¹³ he thinks that he sees the pink ribbon of Faith, and it becomes in his wavering mind the emblem of Faith's fall. At this point Brown seems to drop the role of Eve and assume that of Adam. The quickness of his plunge into moral destruction is very much like Adam's immediate decision to follow Eve into sin although against his better judgment. Adam's rationalization of his deed is based seemingly on a sexual and social need of Eve. But Brown does not rationalize; his leap into the arms of the devil is forced solely by a mind now completely overwhelmed by a consciousness of sin in all with whom he had been intimately associated. The devil's sophistry has supplied the initial

13. Professor Pearson states, "In Milton's epic of *Paradise Lost* the heavens groaned at the fall of the angels, and in Hawthorne's tale of Goodman Brown the winds whispered in sorrow the young man's loss of Faith." See Norman Holmes Pearson, ed., *The Complete Novels and Selected Tales of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (New York, 1937), p. x. One might add that nature also reacts to the sins of Eve and Adam. See IX, 781-783, 1000-1004.

propulsion to Brown's insecurity, but the delusions of his own sin-haunted mind thus stirred bring him to that breaking point at which he exclaims, " 'My Faith is gone! . . . Come, devil; for to thee is this world given.' "

After his fall, Brown is not reunited with Faith immediately. Yet his actions are just as excess as the fiery lust in Adam and Eve after both have tasted the forbidden fruit. Brown becomes a fiend, whose laughter defiles the forest just as much as the gross passion of Adam and Eve besmirches Eden. Hawthorne describes the passionate yet tragic embracing of sin: "The fiend in his own shape is less hideous than when he rages in the breast of man." In the breasts of Adam and Eve hideousness also stormed.

In the second stage of Brown's temptation there are parallels to *Paradise Lost*, yet Hawthorne's analysis of a mind withering like the leaves of the devil's staff is paramount. Actually the two falls in Eden have already been re-enacted in Brown's decline. Hence the second temptation is basically an extension within Brown's dream of a false hope of revival of faith. Instead of a spiritual rebirth, in this phase of the story, the temptation widens Brown's consciousness of the sinfulness of his intimates into an all-inclusive consciousness of the sin in all mankind. Here at the witch-meeting Brown envisions a last chance to save himself from complete involvement. It is quite obviously Faith (really faith) who can save him if his distorted mind can find positive evidence of her innocence. At his first glimpse of the congregation of sinners, a tepid hope revives in him momentarily when he does not see her. However, any possibility of reclamation for him is denied by the appearance of a second tempter, another devil image, who resembles "some grave divine of the New England churches." This devil-preacher who offers the second temptation seems to be a clear reflection of Milton's Satan. Although one cannot directly associate the words of his sermon with speeches or soliloquies of Milton's Satan, the open pronouncement of the power and supremacy of sin is certainly a part of Milton's concept of the trinity of Satan, Sin, and Death. After the sermon the preacher-devil is definitely associated with Milton's Satan. He speaks "in a deep and solemn tone, almost sad with its despairing awfulness, as if his once angelic nature could yet mourn for our miserable race." Even as the memory of his "once angelic nature" haunts Satan

frequently in *Paradise Lost*, and as he experienced moments of sympathy for Adam and Eve before he enticed them into evil,¹⁴ so the devil-minister shows a despairing pity for Brown and the veiled female figure summoned to receive baptism into the depravity of mankind, a rite to which he has impelled them even though he almost regrets their fall.

Although Brown had gone willingly into the forest of guilt at the beginning of the story, it should be noted that in this finale of the temptation scene he had been forced by Deacon Gookin and his own minister to approach the blazing rock for the ceremony. Perhaps fear that his suspicions of Faith are to be confirmed had held him back. Certainly he *thinks* that he recognizes his beloved wife when the veil is dropped and the converts are compelled to look upon each other: "The husband cast one look at his pale wife, and Faith at him. What polluted wretches would the next glance show them to each other, shuddering alike at what they disclosed and what they saw!" Here in these circumstances Hawthorne might have used the very words of Milton's description of the guilty pair cowering before God in *Paradise Lost*:

Love was not in thir looks, either to God
Or to each other, but apparent guilt,
And shame, and perturbation, and despair,
Anger, and obstinacy, and hate, and guile. (X, 111-117)

Whether Brown, after the horrified moment of self-recognition, accepts formal baptism into the cult of evil is a detail to be sought only by the very literal-minded. When Brown cries out, "Faith! Faith! . . . look up to heaven, and resist the wicked one," the irony of his desperation is powerfully emphasized. Because the one basic fall in "Young Goodman Brown" has irrevocably occurred, Brown's faith cannot be sustained by heaven. For when Brown returns to the real world his actions reveal that his soul has been destroyed not only by Satan's skillful persuasion but by its own expanding and delusive distrust. Hence there is reserved for Brown only the fate of becoming the third devil image in the story.¹⁵

14. See IV, 32-113, 358-392, 502-511; IX, 99-178, 455-493.

15. Brown is not an active seducer of man, but his misanthropy casts a forbidding gloom on all of his intimates. For a study of Satanic imagery

IV

In both *Paradise Lost* and "Young Goodman Brown" the mates are reunited, but the knowledge of evil has changed their relationships entirely and has produced very different reactions in Adam and in Brown. Just as Adam, progenitor of the human race, experiences the normal man's recovery from the total destruction of sin, so Brown, representative of the few who take the descent to Avernus, undergoes an abnormal reaction to temptation and sin.

Everything that Adam learns after the fall Brown reverses during his return to a family and social existence. In Books X-XII Adam becomes aware of the nature of sin as it has occurred in him; further, he is shown visions of the future in which the effects of his sin are portrayed. Through the guidance of the Archangel Michael he begins to accept his sin as his own failure and as part of the divine plan of redemption of mankind through the Son of God. He realizes the great value of obedience to God and of temperance in human appetites, emotions, and thoughts. All of this new knowledge which has come from eating the forbidden fruit leads him to exclaim:

O goodness infinite, goodness immense!
 That all this good of evil shall produce,
 And evil turn to good; more wonderful
 Than that which by creation first brought forth
 Light out of darkness! full of doubt I stand
 Whether I should repent me now of sin
 By mee done and occasion'd, or rejoice
 Much more, that much more good thereof spring,
 To God more glory, more good will to Men
 From God, and over wrath grace shall abound.

(XII, 469-478)

No such understanding of sin comes to Brown after his fall. Since his mind still dwells in darkness and in wrath—becomes indeed even more brooding—there is neither *felix culpa* nor divine grace for him. The psychological aberrations of his dream have made it impossible for him ever to put the problem of sin in perspective again. Brown is consumed by that heritage of man's sin

in Hawthorne's fiction (without reference to "Young Goodman Brown") see James E. Miller, Jr., "Hawthorne and Melville: The Unpardonable Sin," *PMLA*, LXX (March 1955), 100-104.

from the fall of Adam which Ahab's monomaniacal mind projects into *Moby Dick*.

As part of his education in the nature of sin, Adam has to undergo a change of attitude toward Eve after he has fiercely upbraided her for originating the fall (X, 867-908). He is moved to genuine compassion for her when she humbles herself before him and repents her sins against both Adam and God. Together they realize that they must share the burden of their woes (X, 914-965). On the other hand, Brown repulses Faith the morning after the dream. Later, although he does beget children, he frequently turns from her breast horrified by his sense of her evil and by the hatred deep within him. This sexual union devoid of love and compassion—mingled, in fact, with hatred and distrust—is far worse than even the relationship of Adam and Eve when raging lust consumes them right after the fall.

Another stage in Adam's movement toward redemption includes development of a genuine humility (X, 1041-1046). Brown, however, becomes totally misanthropic: even if he considers himself evil and judges others by himself,¹⁶ he still does not sympathize either with his wife or with the brotherhood of evil pronounced by the minister-devil on the blazing rock. In the isolation of his long life he shows that an alienation from human kind can be termed only as arrogance or a lack of human sympathy which in Hawthorne's fiction is frequently associated with pride.¹⁷

By achieving understanding, compassion, and humility Adam and Eve are brought to experience full and genuine repentance (X, 1086-1104; XI, 1-8), but Brown never makes any attempt to alleviate the burdens of his mind and soul by seeking the mercy of the Lord. If divine grace descends upon Adam and Eve, it cannot fall upon Brown, for his soul and heart, those elements in man which were re-born in Adam and Eve, remain miserably bleak and gloomy. Brown in essence is a head character, just as guilty of the unpardonable sin as Ethan Brand and just as incapable of removing the stains of the sin by repentance. Milton's Satan, one might point out, is not capable of repentance either.

16. See D. M. McKeithan, "Hawthorne's 'Young Goodman Brown': An Interpretation, *MLN*, LXVII (February 1952), 93-96.

17. Brown's arrogant isolation is reminiscent of Richard Digby's self-righteous retreat to a cave.

It is Adam's preservation of faith in God which makes possible the purifying ascent to repentance. During the worst of his ordeal he has not lost faith, even in moments when Job-like he questions the decision of God (X, 769-770). In contrast, Brown definitely has lost faith—both his wife and his spiritual security. He can turn neither to prayer nor to the ministrations of his spiritual advisers who he thought were in the devil-infested forest, for these now mean nothing to him. Even if Brown loses faith in Calvinism, he has found no creed to replace it. Within his abnormal mind, with all faith driven out, there now rages only a hot hell.¹⁸

In reversing the Adamic myth, Hawthorne in effect assigns Brown—as he does Chillingworth and Ethan Brand—to the devil. The fierce hatred that Milton attributes to Satan might just as well be descriptive of Brown. Milton's description of Satan immediately before the temptation of Eve is applicable to Brown after his visionary fall: the reference to "the hot Hell that always in him burns" (IX, 467) is a repetition of Satan's own earlier understanding of himself in the words "myself am Hell" (IV, 75). With the seeming wholesomeness of his life before the dream now completely perverted by the Satanic distortion of his mind, Brown becomes the third devil image in the story.

Thus when he dies his body is carried gloomily to a grave devoid of spiritual hope. Adam and Eve, in contrast, are last seen in *Paradise Lost* leaving the Garden of Eden hand in hand, subdued, chastened, yet hopeful. "The World was all before them. . . ." Before Brown lies the same hell that has dominated his mind.

V

After having followed much of *Paradise Lost* closely, why did Hawthorne reverse so completely the re-birth phase of the Adamic story? The answer to this question, it seems to me, lies in an understanding of the context of Hawthorne's story—the witchcraft hysteria in Salem Village. Not only does Hawthorne demonstrate in his tale knowledge of the facts and the theological problems of

18. Professor Thomas E. Connolly disagrees with those critics who see Brown as having lost his faith. Professor Connolly's view is that Brown retains his faith but sees how horrible Calvinistic doctrines are. "Hawthorne's 'Young Goodman Brown': An Attack on Puritanic Calvinism," *American Literature*, XXVIII (November 1956), 370-375.

this era,¹⁹ but he also displays an uncanny understanding of the abnormal psychology of the witch-hunters.

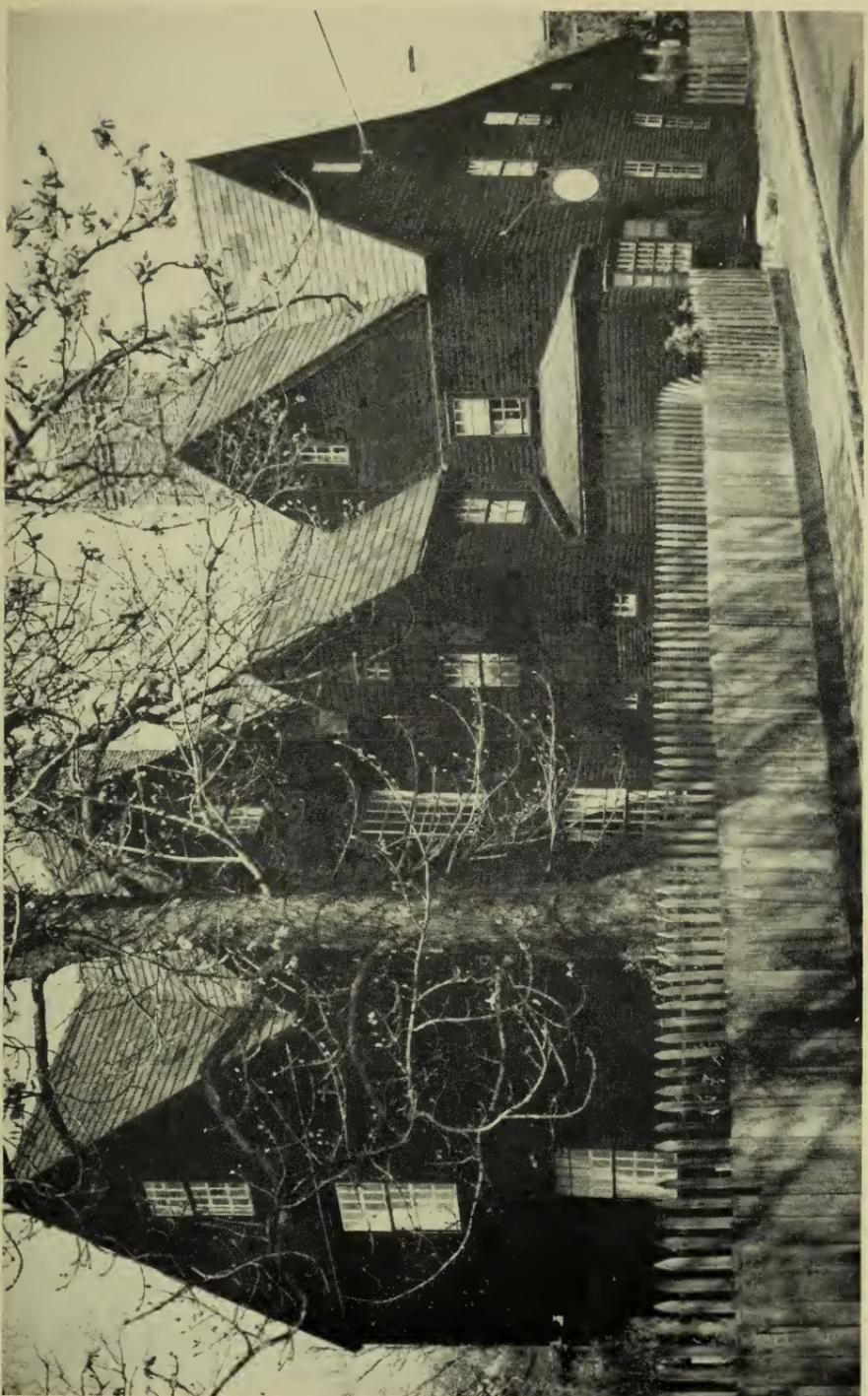
The very virtues involved in the preparation of Adam for redemption are the foundations of theological exhortations of New England divines who tried to counsel the troubled populace of Salem Village. Modern hindsight and research, however, have discovered psychological aberrations in the mass response to witchcraft.²⁰ In rejecting the theological arguments and treating the situation with psychological realism, Hawthorne is in effect offering a prophecy of this later scientific analysis. As in Brown's dream, prominent people of Salem Village, supposedly moral and faithful to God, were suspected during the witchcraft delusions. Just as Brown loses faith in his family and his spiritual advisers, many Salemites lost faith in neighbors and even ministers. Consequently the same forest of fears and suspicions which swallowed Brown must have, in Hawthorne's interpretation of witchcraft, also consumed the souls of some of the people of Salem Village.

In a situation involving abnormal psychology, Hawthorne could not turn to the Christian virtues operative in Adam's re-birth in order to save the souls of the Goodman Browns of Salem Village. Hawthorne's psychological perception is apparent when we consider that no matter how many times Brown tries to turn to Faith to restore his crumbling mind, he cannot withstand the inroads of hate, fear, suspicion, and ultimately loss of faith. Once he begins to suspect his fellowmen, he, like numerous people in Salem, was pulled in the direction of the devil.

19. For Hawthorne's use of names, facts, and lore associated with Salem witchcraft, see Tremaine McDowell, "Nathaniel Hawthorne and the Witches of Colonial Salem," *Notes and Queries*, CLXVI (March 3, 1934), 152; H. Arlin Turner, "Hawthorne's Literary Borrowings," *PMLA*, LI (June 1936), 545-546; Harrison Orians, "New England Witchcraft in Fiction," *AL*, II (March 1930), 65-66. Cf. Neal Frank Doubleday, "Hawthorne's Use of Three Gothic Patterns," *College English*, VII (February 1946), 255-256. To demonstrate Hawthorne's knowledge of the theological problems in the actual context of Salem witchcraft, I am preparing an essay on his use of Deodat Lawson's *Christ's Fidelity* in "Young Goodman Brown."

20. See, for example, Marion L. Starkey, *The Devil in Massachusetts* (New York, 1949). However, Professor Perry Miller points out that witchcraft was plausible and scientifically rational for the seventeenth century. See *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), pp. 191-208. Although one can accept Professor Miller's interpretation, the fact still remains that for Hawthorne the witchcraft experience in Salem Village was fraught with psychological aberrations.

In a sense one can argue that in "Young Goodman Brown" Hawthorne is interpreting the witchcraft period of Salem as a psychological re-enactment of the fall of man, but one in which no redemption occurs because an overwhelming awakening to the power of Satan has driven out faith and the saving Christian virtues. Instead of reviving from temptation, the Salemites whose souls were blighted by the witchcraft disaster, became, like Brown, the devil's advocates.



HOUSE OF THE SEVEN GABLES

HAWTHORNE AT THE ESSEX INSTITUTE

By BENJAMIN W. LABAREE AND B. BERNARD COHEN

When the last of the Hawthorne letters from the estate of Richard C. Manning came to the Essex Institute, they joined an already-distinguished collection of material related to the Salem-born author. There follows a complete list of Hawthorne letters now at the Institute, along with a catalog of ten books once in his possession. Finally, selected lists of Hawthorne portraits and museum objects have been included. The Institute has in addition to these items a number of documents connected with Hawthorne's work in the Salem Custom House, and an extensive collection of Hawthorne family papers, mostly related to the maritime careers of the author's forebears.

I. LETTERS BY HAWTHORNE

26 July 1819, NH (Salem) to Robert Manning (Raymond, Maine).
Personal news about starting school in Salem, loneliness, etc.

7 March 1820, NH (Salem) to Mrs. Elizabeth C. Hathorne (Raymond, Maine).
Concerning his homesickness and the domination of Aunt Mary. Educational plans.

21 March 1820, NH (Salem) to Miss Maria Louisa Hathorne (Raymond, Maine).
General personal news.

28 March 1820, NH (Salem) to Mrs. Elizabeth C. Hathorne (Raymond, Maine).
Family matters.

2 May 1820, NH (Salem) to Robert Manning [Raymond, Maine?] Short note describing his activities, especially educational undertakings.

25 July 1820, NH (Salem) to Mrs. Elizabeth C. Hathorne (Raymond, Maine).
Personal news.

26 September 1820, NH (Salem) to Mrs. Elizabeth C. Hathorne (Raymond, Maine).
Short note of general family news.

31 October 1820, NH (Salem) to Mrs. Elizabeth C. Hathorne and sister Elizabeth (Raymond, Maine).
General letter to mother and note to sister concerning their exchange of poetry and his desire for independence.

6 March 1821, NH (Salem) to Mrs. Elizabeth C. Hathorne (Raymond, Maine).
NH note, appended to letter by his Aunt Mary Manning, about general activities.

15 May 1821, NH (Salem) to Mrs. Elizabeth C. Hathorne (Raymond, Maine).
NH note, appended to letter by his Aunt Mary Manning, looking forward to returning to Maine for College.

29 May 1821, NH (Salem) to Mrs. Elizabeth C. Hathorne [Raymond, Maine?]
Short note with personal and family news.

12 June 1821, NH (Salem) to Mrs. Elizabeth C. Hathorne (Raymond, Maine).
NH note, appended to Maria Louisa's letter to their mother.

19 June 1821, NH (Salem) to Mrs. Elizabeth C. Hathorne (Raymond, Maine).
Family news.

28 August 1821, NH (Salem) to Mrs. Elizabeth C. Hathorne (Raymond, Maine).
Plans for the future.

9 October 1821, NH (Brunswick, Maine) to William Manning (Salem).
News of settling in at Bowdoin College.

17 October 1821, NH (Brunswick, Maine) to Mrs. Elizabeth C. Hathorne (Raymond, Maine).
General news of college life.

30 October 1821, NH (Brunswick, Maine) to Mrs. Elizabeth C. Hathorne (Raymond, Maine).
General personal news of college life, including his need for more money.

13 November 1821, NH (Brunswick, Maine) to Mrs. Elizabeth C. Hathorne (Raymond, Maine).
Including brief illness and continuing need for money.

4 December 1821, NH (Brunswick, Maine) to "Uncle" [Robert Manning (Raymond, Maine)?].
Acknowledging receipt of ten dollars.

1 May 1822, NH (Brunswick, Maine) to Mrs. Elizabeth C. Hathorne (Raymond, Maine).
Short note concerning college activities.

30 May 1822, NH (Brunswick, Maine) to Mrs. Elizabeth C. Hathorne (Salem).
Attempts to head off the College president's letter informing Mrs. Hawthorne of her son's gambling habits.

5 August 1822, NH (Brunswick, Maine) to Miss Elizabeth M. Hathorne (Salem).
Amusing accounts of his behavior and college activities.

12 August 1823, NH (Brunswick, Maine) to "Uncle" [William Manning (Salem)?]
Plans for approaching vacation.

14 July 1825, NH (Brunswick, Maine) to "Sister" [Elizabeth Hathorne (Salem)?].
Pessimistic estimate of his future prosperity after college commencement.

11 August 1829, NH (Salem) to Samuel Manning (New Haven, Conn.).
Written for his Uncle Robert with latest Salem gossip.

17 August 1831, NH (Canterbury, N.H.) to Miss Maria Louisa Hathorne (Salem).
Long letter with detailed description of his visit to a Shaker community.

15 September 1832, NH (Burlington, Vt.) to Mrs. Elizabeth C. Hathorne (Salem).
Account of his trip through the White Mountains and ascent of Mt. Washington.

21 January 1836, NH (Boston) to Miss Maria Louisa Hathorne (Salem).
Gossip of literary life in Boston.

25 January 1836, NH (Boston) to Miss Elizabeth M. Hawthorne (Salem).
Boston political gossip concerning Daniel Webster.

9 February [1836?], NH [Boston?] to [Miss Elizabeth M. Hawthorne, (Salem)?].
Acknowledging receipt of money; reference to sketches of Jefferson and Hamilton, to be published in his *American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge*.

10 February 1836, NH (Boston) to Miss Elizabeth M. Hawthorne (Salem).
Concerning editorial problems.

15 February 1836, NH (Boston) to Miss Maria Louisa Hawthorne (Salem).
Report of acute financial distress and pleas for money; trouble with editor Goodrich.

3 March [1836?], NH [Boston?] to [no name].
Short note concerning need for clothing and books.

22 March 1836, NH (Boston) to Miss Elizabeth M. Hawthorne (Salem).
Concerning sketch of Hamilton's life.

[March 1836], NH [Boston?] to [Miss Maria Louisa Hawthorne (Salem)?].
Note accompanying copy of the *American Magazine* and demanding clothing.

[March 1836?], NH [Boston?] to [Miss Elizabeth M. Hawthorne, (Salem)?].
About magazine articles they both have written.

5 May 1836, NH (Boston) to Miss Elizabeth M. Hawthorne (Salem).
Concerning general editorial matters and his impatience regarding Goodrich.

12 May [1836?], NH (Boston) to [Miss Elizabeth M. Hawthorne (Salem)?].
Publishing plans and need for money.

[May 1836?], NH [Boston?] to [Miss Elizabeth M. Hawthorne (Salem)?].
Short note concerning his current writings.

1 July 1837, NH (Portland) to [no name].
Note regarding the late Richard Manning's estate.

15 November 1840, NH (Boston) to David Roberts (Salem).
About cigars for Longfellow, Garrison's possible elections, and NH's resignation from the Custom House.

10 July 1842, NH (Concord) to Miss Maria Louisa Hawthorne (Salem).
Charming letter written the day after his wedding inviting Louisa to visit later in the summer.

15 August 1842, NH (Concord) to Miss Maria Louisa Hawthorne (Salem).
Arrangements for Louisa's visit.

12 October 1842, NH (Concord) to Miss Maria Louisa Hawthorne (Salem).
Concerning Uncle Robert Manning's death and funeral.

25 November 1842, NH (Concord) to Miss Maria Louisa Hawthorne (Salem).
Long letter with much personal news and mention of Salem political affairs.

2 September 1843, NH (Boston) to Miss Maria Louisa Hawthorne (Salem).
Plans for a visit to Concord by Louisa.

3 March 1844, NH (Concord) to Miss Maria Louisa Hawthorne (Salem).
Announcement in proud paternal language of his daughter Una's birth.

5 June 1851, NH (Lenox, Mass.) to the Rev. Thomas R. Pynchon (Stockbridge, Mass.).
In reply to Pynchon's letter of 3 June 1851 in which he strongly objected to Hawthorne's use of the name "Pyncheon" in the recently published *The House of the Seven Gables* and suggested the name be changed in subsequent editions with an explanation. NH denied any intended allusion to the present Pynchon family, saw no need for a change.

16 May 1852, NH (West Newton) to Miss Maria Louisa Hawthorne [Salem?].
Concerning Louisa's forthcoming visit.

18 June 1852, NH (Concord) to Miss Maria Louisa Hawthorne (Salem).
Urging Louisa to come soon lest unforeseen events intervene.

[1852?], NH [no location] to David Roberts (Salem).
Concerning a debt outstanding.

5 April 1853, NH (Concord) to Miss Elizabeth M. Hawthorne (Salem).
Announcing plans for trip to England.

11 May 1853, NH (Concord) to N.J. Lord (Salem).
Concerning William Manning's availability for a position in the Custom House.

14 September 1853, NH (Liverpool) to President Franklin Pierce (Washington, D.C.).
Letter introducing William Manning to the President for job-seeking purposes.

3 February 1854, NH (Liverpool) to John Dike [Salem?].
Financial arrangements for his mother.

14 May 1855, NH (Concord) to "Cousin."
Concerning church records of the Isles of Shoals.

28 August 1860, NH (The Wayside) to "Cousin."
Long letter concerning a hill in Salem he calls "Browne's Folly" and the haunted house at its foot.

29 January 1861, NH (Concord) to David Roberts [Boston?].
General family news.

18 June 1861, NH (Concord) to David Roberts (Salem).
Acknowledging Robert's acceptance of an invitation to dinner.

20 September 1863, NH (Concord) to David Roberts [Boston?].
Short note with personal news.

II. BOOKS FROM HAWTHORNE'S LIBRARY

The Essex Institute collection contains several books, magazines, and a logbook acquired by Nathaniel Hawthorne at various times from youth to his tenure in the Boston Custom House (January, 1839—January, 1841). For whatever information these volumes offer about Hawthorne's biography and the sources of his thought and fiction, they are herein listed (in abbreviated bibliographical form) and discussed briefly. Two items possibly associated with Hawthorne are also included.

1. *Anno Regni Georgii II. Regis Magnae Britanniae, Franciae, & Hiberniae, Decimo Nono. At the Parliament begun and holden at Westminster, the 1st Day of December, Anno Dom. 1741, in the Fifteenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c.* London: Thomas Baskett, 1745.

Hawthorne's signature appears countless times in numerous places and in varying form, *e. g.*, "Hathorne," "Nath. Hawthorne," "Nathaniel Hawthorne," "Hawthorne," and "NH." The book had apparently belonged to Richard Manning, whose signature also appears frequently, and who occasionally refers to himself (or is referred to) humorously as "Manningham." Although someone has put the name "Alexander Pope" in the volume several times, the poet, who died in 1744, obviously could not have owned the book. A John Williamson who gives his address as Bristol has also recorded his signature numerous times. In addition, there is considerable copying of the text on originally blank leaves; some of this was undoubtedly done by Hawthorne for practice in penmanship.

One cannot begin to describe the mutilation inflicted upon this volume. It clearly represents Hawthorne's juvenile habit of signing his name frequently, and it gives amusing evidence of a struggle between John Williamson and Hawthorne to determine who could deface the book more effectively. Williamson undoubtedly owned the volume before Richard Manning did, and began the mutilation; Hawthorne continued the process with enthusiasm. The book certainly offers little or no evidence of Hawthorne's serious interest in history, but it is a good example of the way he

acquired some of his library books—by inheritance or as gifts from the Mannings.

2. *The Beauties of the Spectator; or The most elegant, agreeable and instructive pieces selected out of that renowned work.* Paris: Fr. Louis, 1804.

Here appear numerous signatures of Hawthorne, including some portions of his name. One fixes a date of acquisition: "Nath: Hawthorne 1827." Someone, possibly Hawthorne, has identified Addison as author of some of the essays. There are also markings, doodles, and one correction, but since the book was owned at some time by Francis C. Gilbert, it is difficult to determine whether Hawthorne was responsible for these. Nevertheless, the book demonstrates Hawthorne's early interest in eighteenth-century writers and thus may be useful to students of his style and thought.¹

3. *Bowdoin Port-Folio, I, Nos. 6 & 7 (Oct.-Nov., 1839).*

On top of the cover is the following "Nath' Hawthorne Esq." There are no markings and annotations, but ownership of the magazine testifies to Hawthorne's continued interest in Bowdoin after he graduated in 1825. In a letter to H. G. Fuller (May 15, 1839) Hawthorne acknowledged receipt of the *Bowdoin Port-Folio* and asked to be considered a subscriber.²

4. *Cicero, M. Tullius. Cato Major; or, A Treatise on Old Age. With Explanatory Notes from the Roman History by the Honourable Mr. Logan.* Philadelphia: R. Urie, 1751.

This volume contains a bookplate of Richard Manning and the signature of Robert Manning, along with the inscription "Nath. Hawthorne, / Salem, 1832." There is some lettering, but no marking or annotating. The book is another example of the interest of the Mannings in Hawthorne's education and also of Hawthorne's own reading of the classics, stimulated by his heavily classical training at Bowdoin.³

1. In 1820 Hawthorne had issued a weekly newspaper called *The Spectator*. See Elizabeth L. Chandler, "Hawthorne's *Spectator*," *New England Quarterly*, IV (April 1931), 289-330.

2. See typescript copy in the collection of Hawthorne's letters being edited by Professor Norman Holmes Pearson of Yale University.

3. The curriculum here included Cicero's *Orations*. See Randall Stewart, *Nathaniel Hawthorne* (New Haven, 1948), pp. 14, 17-18.

5. [Hathorne, N.] The Mary & Eliza of Salem from the Cape of Good Hope bound to Batavia . . . March 21, 1804.

The signature and lettering in this volume were probably inscribed by Hawthorne's father, who died in 1808. One signature reads "N. Hathorne, 1804"—the year of the birth of his famous son.

This is a logbook kept by Hawthorne's father,⁴ and although there is no indisputable evidence that Nathaniel ever owned it, he probably saw it. As a youngster Hawthorne was fascinated by his father's adventurous life, in which he probably participated vicariously by means of logbooks and of his mother's reminiscences. This stimulus to adventure probably accounts partially for Hawthorne's deep interest in travel books, as seen in the list of books withdrawn for the Salem Anthenaeum.⁵

6. Nathaniel Hathorne's Book, 1820 Salem. A Journal of a Passage from Bengal to America In the Ship America of Salem, 1796.

On the left-hand side of the title page is the inscription: "Nathaniel Hathorne's Book. Presented by his Esteamed Friend Mr. Robert Robbinet Oct. 25, 1795 Calcutta." This book contains stamps of Hawthorne's name, his initials, and the inscription on page 26 "Nathaniel Hathorne, Salem, Massachusetts, 1825." There is also some fancy penmanship. On the title page someone has copied the following: "Let this auspicious day be ever saved." This motto is followed by the query "For what?"

This book came to Hawthorne through his father, and although it is not apparently a log of a trip which the seaman-father took, it is again evidence of Hawthorne's interest in his father's adventurous life.

7. The New Latin Primer; containing, First, Lessons for Construing and Parsing, which exemplify all the Rules of Adam's Latin Syntax. Second, Extracts from the Minor Latin Classics, with Literal Translations. Third, the First Part of Lyne's Latin Primer. Selected and Arranged. By Walter Biglow/Boston: John West, 1801.

4. See Vernon Loggins, *The Hawthornes* (New York, 1951), pp. 201-202, and Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

5. See Marion L. Kesselring, *Hawthorne's Reading 1828-1850* (New York, 1949).

This book contains the signature "N. Hathorne/Salem/1820" and a boxed stamp of Hawthorne's name. It is one of the few school books of Hawthorne extant and was used when he was being tutored for college by either Samuel H. Archer or Benjamin L. Oliver, both of Salem. There are some pencil markings, apparently designating assignments, and a pencil drawing of a man's head and shoulders—evidence that Hawthorne needed release from the boredom of study too!

8. Poe, Edgar A. *The Raven and Other Poems*. New York: Wily and Putnam, 1845. Bound with Poe, Edgar A. *Tales*. New York: Wily and Putnam, 1845.

This volume bears the signature "Nath. Hawthorne," whose authenticity is questioned. However, it is like other signatures of Hawthorne which I have seen. In addition, Hawthorne, in a letter of April 30, 1846, to E. A. Duyckinck, refers to Duyckinck's having sent him Poe's *Tales*.⁶ There are no markings or annotations. Hawthorne's acquisition of these volumes may have been stimulated by Poe's famous review of *Twice-Told Tales* in *Graham's Magazine* (May 1842), which was considerably revised in 1847.

9. Smith, Thomas. *The Wonders of Nature and Art, or A Concise Account of Whatever is Most Curious and Remarkable in the World . . .* By the Rev. Thomas Smith, Revised by James Mease. Philadelphia: Birch and Small, 1806. Vols. 3, 4, 7, 9, 11, 12, 14.

Each volume has the signature of Robert Manning. Although there is no evidence that these books became part of Hawthorne's library, they are mentioned here as a possible addition to Hawthorne's early reading. At any rate, they should probably be explored to determine whether Hawthorne drew anything from them for his fiction.⁷

10. *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, V. No. 17 (May 1839).

This magazine is signed as follows: "Nath. Hawthorne/Custom House." There are no markings or annotations. Apparently

6. See typescript copy in the collection of Professor Pearson.

7. Hawthorne was familiar with *Extracts from the Journals Kept by the Rev. Thomas Smith* (Portland, 1821). See Kesselring, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

O'Sullivan, the editor of the magazine, sent copies of it to Hawthorne regularly.⁸ In 1838 and 1839 Hawthorne published numerous stories and sketches in the *Democratic Review*, although this particular issue contains nothing by him.

III. PORTRAITS, PHOTOGRAPHS, AND STATUARY OF HAWTHORNE

Lithograph, drawn by H. Baker, printed by Armstrong & Co., 1880.

Oil portrait, by Miss H. Frances Osborne, from a photograph, date unknown.

Oil portrait, by Henry Inman, c. 1835.

Oil portrait, by Charles Osgood, 1840.

Photograph, copy of one from effects of Elizabeth Carlton.

Photograph, copy of portrait by G. P. A. Healy, date unknown.

Photograph, copy of painting by Cephas G. Thompson, 1850.

Photograph, copy of one by Mayall, London, date unknown.

Photograph, of Hawthorne statue, Hawthorne Blvd., Salem.

Photograph, of Hawthorne, source and date unknown.

Silhouette, for Class of 1825, Bowdoin College, authenticity questioned.

Statuary, bas-relief, wood carving. Mould for last; cast of last.

Statuary, plaster, after one by Louisa Lander.

8. See Hawthorne to O'Sullivan, April 19, 1838, in the collection of Professor Norman H. Pearson.

IV. HAWTHORNE MEMORABILIA

Bag, pink knitting, from Hawthorne family.

Basket, catch-all, from Hawthorne family.

Bench, small, wooden, used by Nathaniel and sisters as children.

Card case, red leather, owned by NH.

Chair, child's high, used by NH.

Chair, small windsor, from Hawthorne family.

Desk, standing, pine, used by NH in Salem Custom House. (Now on exhibition there).

Diploma, fragment, from Bowdoin College, 1825.

Pocket-book, brown leather, owned by NH while at Bowdoin College, with three autographs and Latin inscription as follows: "Quid non mortalia pectora cogis, Auri sacra fames! Virgil, Aeneid, Book III, line 37."

Sand-box, found in Hawthorne desk.

Window-pane, autographed by NH, from his Herbert Street house.

Window-sash, from Hawthorne birthplace.

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TIMOTHY PICKERING'S "PORTRAIT" OF THOMAS JEFFERSON

By EDWARD HAKE PHILLIPS

IN THE YEAR 1827 an eighty-two year old man wrote in his notebook a fervent prayer that his life and strength might be spared a few years more that he might accomplish a mission which seemed to him of vital importance. This venerable gentleman, who had lived a most active, public-oriented life, was Timothy Pickering of Salem, whose career perhaps more than any other man's was inextricably entwined with the rise, fall, and agony of the Federalist party. The prayer he uttered in his eighty-second year was a strange one; it read:

I pray God to spare my life and to preserve my faculties, until I can, by a correct history of Jefferson's public life, subsequent to our revolution, exhibit his character with those dark shades which belong to it—in order to enlighten the public mind, and hold him up a warning beacon, for the benefit of the present and future generations.¹

Americans with their democratic and hero-worshiping propensities find it difficult to conceive that Thomas Jefferson was one of the most detested men of his time—but Jefferson's age was an age of partizanship, and though he posed as an impartial sage, both he and his countrymen were partial to the tips of their toes. Thus Thomas Jefferson had an army of detractors; Federalist orators, editors, and story-tellers threw enough mud in his direc-

¹. Timothy Pickering, Notebook, 1827, Pickering Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society (hereafter abbreviated P-MHS), L, 216.

tion to build a Mt. Everest, had not his admirers hurled the dirt back as fast as it came.

While much of the Federalist dirt aimed in Jefferson's direction was uncalled for, he was far from being a wholly innocent target.² His Federalist attackers were not merely playing politics; they saw through the garb of idealistic philosophy with which Jefferson clothed himself and perceived frailties and blemishes that were invisible to his admirers. Thus the Federalist view of Thomas Jefferson, while heavily biased and even, in some respects, vicious, ought not to be written off as mere "Buncombe." The real Thomas Jefferson was someone greater than his detractors were willing to concede, but he was also someone less than his admirers and worshippers believed. Thus Pickering's effort to reveal the "real" Jefferson, as he saw him, has some value for posterity. If one takes care to treat Pickering's impressions with caution and boil away much of his deep prejudice, perhaps one can add several more lines to history's evolving portrait of Thomas Jefferson.

Pickering's effort to portray Jefferson helps also towards a better understanding of Pickering himself and this is no mean gain, for Pickering was a much more important figure in American history than posterity has yet seen fit to recognize. Soldier in the Revolution, Quartermaster General, Indian Commissioner, Postmaster General, Secretary of War, Secretary of State, Senator and Representative from Massachusetts, he was in many ways "Mr. Federalist." Few Federalists had as much knowledge of Thomas Jefferson as Pickering; in one vital way, Pickering's position was unique; he was the only Cabinet member of Federalist days who while in power suffered through the cruel, relentless attacks of Thomas Jefferson's party, and then later had the "pleasure" of sitting in the Senate and the House during the Jeffersonian reign and returning kind for kind. It was in these latter years that Pickering unleashed his choicest invectives against Thomas Jefferson, but his resentment stemmed largely from the events of the 1790's.

2. John Quincy Adams, a rather fair-minded judge, once told William Plumer that "there are prominent traits in his [Jefferson's] character, & important actions in his life, that he would not wish should be delineated, & transmitted to posterity." Everett S. Brown, ed., *William Plummer's Memorandum of Proceedings in the United States Senate, 1803-1807* (New York, 1923), p. 606.

As Pickering was a soldier in the Revolution and Jefferson a civilian, their paths apparently did not cross until 1791, when Pickering moved to Philadelphia to take up the duties of Postmaster-General. Not until 1795 when Pickering was elevated to the War Department and Cabinet rank did he become directly involved in the bitter crossfire of party politics. Thereafter, he soon became hostile to Jefferson as he saw administrative policies—especially the Jay Treaty—bitterly assailed and misrepresented by the Virginian and his associates. When Pickering took on the heavy responsibilities of the State Department in the late summer of 1795, he became particularly resentful of Jefferson's opposition to the country's foreign policy. The propensity of the Jeffersonians to go over the heads of the Federalist government and assure the French that the Federalist administration did not represent the country soured him forever on the character of Thomas Jefferson. Thereafter, Pickering was always suspicious of the purity of Jefferson's views, and even in the rare moments when he believed him honest he was unwilling to grant him any wisdom.

Pickering's life was spared until January, 1829, but he never succeeded in completing his anticipated portrait of Thomas Jefferson, though he did turn out a number of sketches, and his voluminous correspondence reveals his impressions of Jefferson rather fully. In the Senate and House Chambers, Pickering was a bit more restrained in his invectives, though even there he lashed out sharp barbs at "the man at the palace."³

Pickering's warmest complaint against Jefferson was that he was the heart and soul of the opposition to Federalist principles and through his political machinations had misrepresented and mortally wounded the Federalist cause and the principles of law, order, and good government for which it stood, "All . . . [our] evils . . . may be traced [to Jefferson] as their source," wrote Pickering in 1809,⁴ and in the twilight of his life he said that "ill placed confidence in this one man" was "the principal cause of all

3. Timothy Pickering to John Pickering, Jr., December 1, 1808, P-MHS, XIV, 212. In this letter Pickering said, "I have not done with the man at the palace. If I find time during the session, I may draw a full length portrait of him for the public exhibition rooms—that is newspapers and pamphlets—. . . and in the meantime some half lengths for the Senate Chamber."

4. Timothy Pickering to Andrew Banister, February 24, 1809, P-MHS, XIV, 232.

the national calamities."⁵ To him Jefferson was the deadly enemy of "the wise and the good," who were in Pickering's opinion, synonymous with the Federalists; thus he called Jefferson "their greatest, their exterminating enemy."⁶

It was not merely the destruction of Federalism that damned Jefferson in Pickering's eyes, it was also, perhaps even more, his exaggerated fear of what Jefferson and his party stood for. Pickering saw Jefferson through glasses deeply hued by the French Revolution. Jefferson seemed to embody the dangerous philosophical views of Voltaire and the political cunning, ambition, and immorality of Robespierre, and thus society, church, and state were all in jeopardy in his hands. In 1804, after observing with great distress Jefferson's removal of a number of worthy Federalists from office in favor of political henchmen, Pickering lashed forth:

The cowardly wretch at their head, while, like a Parisian revolutionary monster, prating about humanity, would feel an infernal pleasure in the utter destruction of his opponents. We have too long witnessed his general turpitude, his cruel removals of faithful officers, and the substitution of corruption and looseness for integrity and worth. . . . Corruption is the object and instrument of the chief . . . for the purpose of maintaining himself in power and the accomplishment of his infidel and visionary schemes. . . . Virtue and worth are his enemies, and therefore he would overwhelm them.⁷

Pickering had added reasons for resenting Jefferson's removals, for his old friend, General Rufus Putnam, was discharged as Surveyor-General of the Northwest Territory, and his nephew, Samuel Williams, was replaced as American Consul in London.⁸ A number of his discharged friends furnished him with ammunition to be used against their malefactor, and Pickering was an eager amplifier.⁹

While Pickering greatly distorted Jefferson's removal policies,

5. Timothy Pickering, Memorandum, [undated], P-MHS, LI, 332.

6. Timothy Pickering to Thomas Gray, January 10, 1827, P-MHS, XVI, 172.

7. Timothy Pickering to Rufus King, March 4, 1804, Rufus King Papers, New-York Historical Society.

8. Timothy Pickering to Rufus Putnam, December 6, 1803, and Pickering to George H. Rose, March 22, 1808, P-MHS, XIV, 50 and 201.

9. See for example: John Hopkins to Timothy Pickering, April 8, 1808, and Jacob Wagner to Pickering, February 18, 1809, P-MHS, XXVIII, 276, and XXIX, 105.

there was a thread of insight in some of his charges. In accusing Jefferson of "insatiable ambition"¹⁰ he was not much farther from the truth than those who considered Jefferson a disinterested statesman. Jefferson was supremely ambitious for the success of his policies and was unwilling to sit back as a philosophic observer. Moreover his removal policies, if not "corrupt," did give some credence to another charge which Pickering made, namely that he would use "any means" to gratify his ambition.¹¹ Jefferson no doubt felt he was merely facing the realities of politics, but this was not the sort of disinterested statesmanship to be expected from one who had piously stated, "We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists."

The gap between Jefferson's philosophic enunciations and his practical politics was the crux of Pickering's belief that he was the supreme hypocrite. Pickering noted that while Jefferson professed his disinclination to be President, he nonetheless worked like a Trojan to obtain election and reelection—and after gaining the hard-earned laurel pointedly emphasized his inadequacy for the office.¹² He felt also that while the President expressed "his desire to maintain peace," he nonetheless seized "every occasion to excite and increase the prejudices and hatred of the multitude against Great-Britain," and made war almost inevitable.¹³ Jefferson pretended to take no very active role in directing the measures of Congress and yet Pickering felt this was a great sham and charged that "Mr. Jefferson, cunningly as pusilanimously, avoids all direct responsibility, in the interesting crisis of our affairs. He throws himself on Congress . . . [and] yet he seems to entertain a high opinion of his own sagacity; and so, *behind the curtain*, directs the measures he wishes to have adopted; while in each house a majority of puppets move as he touches the wires."¹⁴ Pickering further charged that even when the President

^{10.} Timothy Pickering to Caleb Strong, November 22, 1803, P-MHS, XIV, 46.

^{11.} *Ibid.*

^{12.} Timothy Pickering to William Coleman, February 23, 1825, P-MHS, XVI, 20.

^{13.} Timothy Pickering to Mrs. Pickering, January 1, 1808, Pickering Family Papers, Essex Institute, microfilm of originals in possession of John Pickering of Salem, great-great-grandson of Timothy. (Hereafter this collection will be abbreviated P-EI).

^{14.} Timothy Pickering to Mrs. Pickering, January 31, 1806, P-EI, microfilm.

had "a predilection for a measure . . . he has not magnanimity to propose it, as he ought, in the way directed in the Constitution, and as becomes the Chief of a nation, but lurks behind the scenes, and from thence prompts the actors."¹⁵

Pickering felt that Jefferson's determination to do all and be all helped to explain the evident poor quality of the Cabinet and the foreign service. "Jefferson prefers . . . pliant, weak and insignificant men, as his confidants," he charged.¹⁶ "Sam Smith, nor any other man having any pretensions to capacity and information, seems to be in favour at the Palace."¹⁷ Smith, incidentally, miffed at the apparent neglect of his talents, did not hesitate to pass along his opinion of Jefferson to the "enemy," charging Jefferson with being "very obstinate" and "head-strong."¹⁸ John Randolph, another disgruntled Democrat of talents, told Pickering at the same time that the President had "no Cabinet."¹⁹ Pickering added a further charge:

I do not even believe that Mr. Jefferson wishes to have the ablest men employed at foreign courts. He is vain of his own diplomatic skill, & thinks his instructions sufficient to illuminate a common man, & pour conviction on the ministers of those courts. Long ago I entertained the opinion. I *knew* that he draughted instructions with his own hand; and with a vain confidence of their efficacy; and particularly to Monroe.²⁰

Pickering felt that, in spite of the ability of Secretary of State Madison, Jefferson wrote most of the important dispatches. "He is fond of scribbling—is vain of his writings—& fondly believes they possess a degree of magic force."²¹

Jefferson would have been pained (or perhaps amused) to know that Pickering held his literary abilities in very low esteem. Pickering called the President's annual message of 1804

15. Timothy Pickering to John Pickering, Jr., February 11, 1806, P-EI, microfilm.

16. Timothy Pickering to Fisher Ames, March 11, 1806, P-MHS, XIV, 152.

17. Timothy Pickering to Oliver Wolcott, March 16, 1806, Oliver Wolcott Papers, Connecticut Historical Society, XX.

18. *Ibid.*, and Timothy Pickering to Richard Peters, March 24, 1806, Richard Peters Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Ibid.*

21. Timothy Pickering to Oliver Wolcott, April 2, 1806, Wolcott Papers.

"obscure," "incorrect," "ill-arranged & preposterously framed." "With all his boasted literature, he appears incapable of writing his vernacular tongue."²² It was not that the President was, like the Dutchman's precocious son, "so schmart nobody could understand him;" Pickering didn't even give Jefferson credit for being smart. He felt Jefferson was widely read but superficial and though he could converse on all subjects he was profound in none.²³ Pickering found particular fault with the President's failure to begin sentences with a capital letter—a fad which was aped by a number of Jefferson's admirers.²⁴ Most of Pickering's complaints, however, were of a deeper nature.

It was because the President's hypocrisy was born of calculation rather than weakness that Pickering so strongly deplored it. To his close friend, Richard Peters, Pickering complained:

I confess I detest Jefferson: not for his political opinions but for the profligacy of his character. His hypocrisy surpasses that of any man I know. His deceptions have been so numerous, that I feel myself warrented in the opinion, that *deception* has been the *principle* of his administration.²⁵

This deception, Pickering felt, was practiced primarily on the masses. The people, he said, "have become the wretched dupes of the imagined wisdom, virtue and patriotism of one man: a man, whose means of advancement to power, and the great principle of whose conduct, has been *deception*."²⁶ Pickering gave Jefferson credit at least for a large share of cunning, if not wisdom, for "Visionary, as he is, Mr. Jefferson knows incomparably better than his opponents how to address himself to the nonsense of the multitude. And they now are so completely the dupes of his hypocrisy that 'tho 'he laugh on them, they believe it not.' "²⁷

While Pickering felt that Jefferson used the people and the

^{22.} Timothy Pickering to John Pickering, Jr., November 9, 1804, P-EI, microfilm.

^{23.} Timothy Pickering to Dr. George Logan, January 5, 1815, P-MHS, XV, 80.

^{24.} Notation in Timothy Pickering's hand on copy of letter of Thomas Jefferson to James Callender, October 6, 1799, P-MHS, XLII, 204.

^{25.} Timothy Pickering to Richard Peters, April 22, 1808, P-MHS, XIV, 200.

^{26.} Timothy Pickering to Mrs. Pickering, January 1, 1808, P-EI, microfilm.

^{27.} Timothy Pickering to James McHenry, December 26, 1807, James McHenry Papers, Library of Congress, photostat.

party as his "duples" and "puppets," he also charged Jefferson with yielding principle to popularity. "The primary consideration is—What will be popular? and the great interests of the nation are sacrificed to this object—popularity."²⁸ Pickering was sure that Jefferson's catering to the people was, however, merely part of his scheme of stooping to conquer, and thus he labeled him a "Demagogue,"²⁹ as well as a deceiver. In this way he accounted for some of the inconsistencies and gyrations of Jefferson's administration; Jefferson was, he said, "of a most accomodating nature—ready to change as the policy of the moment may seem to require."³⁰

Jefferson's philosophical propensities, like his love of popularity, gave a deceptive appearance of weakness, and Pickering commented upon the misfortune of having a "Visionary" philosopher for a president, who lacked "a practical knowledge of his duty, & honesty & firmness to perform it."³¹ One day shortly after he visited the White House and saw Jefferson's museum, Pickering complained to his wife, "Our chief magistrate seems to be absorbed in what might amuse a minute philosopher, but which is a reproach to one who holds the rein of an empire."³² Thus when Jefferson failed to show vigor or decision he was branded as a visionary philosopher, and when he did take action he was branded as the devil incarnate.

Like the devil, Jefferson had, in Pickering's eye, a character that was all black. Pickering believed all the "old wives' tales" about Jefferson's immorality, and he added "with perfect conviction, *that not the half has been told*."³³ His Federalist colleagues loved to swap tales about Tom Jefferson over the dining table in Pickering's boarding house: one day, according to Pickering, the impish Uriah Tracy "with a very grave face, told a mulatto man who was tending the table, that Mr. Jefferson was going

28. Timothy Pickering to Mrs. Pickering, January 8, 1807, P-EI, microfilm.

29. Timothy Pickering, Memorandum, [@1828], P-MHS, XLVII, 31.

30. Timothy Pickering, "The Presidential Election," rough draft, [1824], P-EI, IV.

31. Timothy Pickering to James McHenry, December 26, 1807, McHenry Papers, photostat, and Pickering to Richard Peters, March 24, 1806, Peters Papers.

32. Timothy Pickering to Mrs. Pickering, January 8, 1807, P-EI, microfilm.

33. Timothy Pickering to Timothy Williams, February 21, 1805, and Pickering to John Hopkins, January 23, 1812, P-MHS, XIV, 119 and 379.

to hang all the people of colour. The servant stared. Mr. Tracy very solemnly repeated his assertion: when the mulatto answered—"If he should, he must hang a number of his own children."³⁴ Pickering even believed that Jefferson had induced Tobias Lear to "pilfer" some of George Washington's important private papers.³⁵ Indeed, said Pickering, "When we advert to the real character of Mr. Jefferson, there is no nefarious act of which we may not suppose him capable."³⁶

There was one act Pickering thought Jefferson incapable of, however, and that was going to war. Pickering believed the story of Jefferson having ignominiously fled from Tarleton's raiders in the Revolutionary war, and he had him stamped as a coward.³⁷ No matter how bellicose the President's talk might become, Pickering was certain "he will not go to war."³⁸ In 1808 in face of the mounting crises with England and France, Pickering assured his son that Jefferson "would do anything but hang himself, rather than go to war. . . ."³⁹ Pickering, of course, regretted that the President had this single reservation. In March, 1808, when it was reported that the President "was sick abed—with the *Head-Ache*," Pickering was unkind enough to say, "If conscience does its duty, he may never recover;—unless, excited by a strong fit of remorse for his evil deeds, he should rise, and like Judas go away and hang himself."⁴⁰ Since this desirable event failed to occur, Pickering consoled himself with the thought that "the future historian will hang him in gibbets—and there I leave him."⁴¹

Although Jefferson appeared to fear war, Pickering noted that it was only war against the strong that he feared; he seemed all

34. Timothy Pickering to John Pickering, Jr., November 22, 1807, P-EI, microfilm.

35. Octavius Pickering to David Daggett, April 10, 1850, P-EI, VII.

36. Timothy Pickering to Christopher Gore, January 8, 1809, P-MHS, XIV, 220.

37. Timothy Pickering to John Hopkins, January 23, 1812, P-MHS, XIV, 379.

38. Timothy Pickering to John Pickering, Jr., December 18, 1805, P-EI, microfilm; see also Pickering's letter of the same date to Rufus King, King Papers.

39. Timothy Pickering to John Pickering, Jr., January 8, 1808, P-EI, microfilm.

40. Timothy Pickering to John Pickering, Jr., March 29, 1808, P-EI, microfilm.

41. Timothy Pickering to Robert Liston, March 19, 1805, P-MHS, XIV, 123.

too ready to jump on the weak and was an imperialist at heart. The Louisiana Purchase was to Pickering's thinking proof of the President's imperialistic taste. He spoke of the area as Jefferson's "dominion" and charged that the inhabitants had less freedom under Jefferson's rule than under the Spanish monarchy.⁴² Pickering blasted the administration's aggressive actions against Spanish Florida, and he was sure that despite all appearances, Jefferson approved of Miranda's expedition that sought to stir revolt in Spanish America. "His [Jefferson's] philosophic soul must be grieved to think of the despotism under which the Spanish subjects in America have been groaning for ages," said Pickering sarcastically.⁴³ He later said he had evidence that Jefferson planned to take Cuba, command the Gulf Stream, war against the Spanish colonies, and extend America's claims "to the Rio Grande del Norte."⁴⁴

As an imperialist and as a dictator—but not as a soldier!—Jefferson appeared to be kindred to Napoleon Bonaparte, and Pickering was quick to charge Jefferson with subserviency to, if not collusion with, the French emperor. He said the administration got much of its support from "the hirelings of France," and he cited several cases where the government abruptly shifted its policy to comply with the demands of the French government.⁴⁵ Pickering never quite went so far as to accuse Jefferson specifically of a treasonable pact with Napoleon, but he said it made little difference whether Jefferson was "under French influence or which amounts to the same thing . . . strongly pro-French & anti-British for the sake of popularity & power"—the nation's fate was severely jeopardized in either case.⁴⁶

Like most Federalists, Pickering considered Jefferson an atheist. Jefferson's condemnations of the clergy shocked him. His horror was increased when he saw a derogatory comment Jefferson had apparently penciled into a copy of Thomas Hutchinson's *History*

42. Timothy Pickering to Fisher Ames, March 21, 1806, P-MHS, XIV, 153.

43. *Ibid.*

44. Timothy Pickering to John Smith, August 2, 1813, P-MHS, XIV, 425.

45. Timothy Pickering to the Governor and Legislature of Massachusetts, February 16, 1808, P-MHS, XIV, 181, and Pickering to John Pickering, Jr., January 1, 1808, P-EL, microfilm.

46. Timothy Pickering to George Logan, December 16, 1813, P-MHS, XIV, 439.

of Massachusetts concerning the resurrection—the comment read: “ ‘Tis so foolish as to stagger the credulity of an Indian.’ ”⁴⁷ Jefferson's views on Christianity troubled Pickering greatly, though he himself was rather liberal on religious matters, having switched from Orthodox Calvinism to a Unitarian belief. In the mild but rich Indian summer of his career Pickering wrote a long letter to Jefferson inquiring as to his true religious beliefs and urging him to scotch the common opinion that he was an unbeliever, if indeed he was not one, for his name gave unbelief tremendous weight with the masses. Pickering, seeking perhaps to convert the devil himself, made a strong case for Unitarianism and enclosed one of the budding William Ellery Channing's sermons for Jefferson's edification.⁴⁸ Jefferson promptly replied with a very respectful letter. He thanked Pickering for Channing's sermon and expressed his delight that the doctrinaire and “Trinitarian arithmetic” type of Christianity was giving way to common sense and the pure principles of Jesus. He acknowledged that he differed “in particulars” with Pickering regarding their religious beliefs but felt they both belonged to the Unitarian type of thought.⁴⁹ Pickering was satisfied with Jefferson's account, proudly showed the letter to some of his friends, and never thereafter called Jefferson an “infidel”—though he still called him many other things.

Actually this was not the only exchange of letters that Pickering and Jefferson had. The first occurred in 1799 when Pickering was Secretary of State and was wrestling with the problem of defining the Maine border. Jefferson kindly loaned Pickering his personal copies of L'Escarbot's and Champlain's works and maps on the subject.⁵⁰ Pickering had an opportunity to reciprocate somewhat in 1804 after the Louisiana Purchase presented Jefferson with the dilemma of the Northwestern boundary. Pickering volunteered his copy of Hutchins's book on Louisiana, and Jefferson said it gave him “The first *particular* information of the line agreed on by the Comm^{rs} under the treaty of Utrecht, he has

47. Octavius Pickering to David Daggett, April 10, 1850, P-EI, VII.

48. Timothy Pickering to Thomas Jefferson, February 12, 1821, P-MHS, XV, 243.

49. Thomas Jefferson to Timothy Pickering, February 27, 1821, P-MHS, XV, 246.

50. Timothy Pickering to Thomas Jefferson, January 24, 1799, P-MHS, X, 277.

ever been able to obtain."⁵¹ Jefferson loaned Pickering his copy of Louis XIV's Charter to Crozat and also sent him an outline of his own views on the subject. Pickering read Jefferson's views with interest but did not agree with them; he thought Jefferson was claiming too much and sent Jefferson an extensive statement of his own opinion. Pickering believed that on the basis of historical precedent the line should run due west from the source of the Mississippi rather than from the height of land of the Missouri.⁵² Had Pickering's views been accepted by Jefferson, the history of the American and Canadian West would have been considerably different. In all their exchanges Pickering and Jefferson employed a stiffly formal style, using the third person throughout.

In December, 1805, Pickering offered Jefferson a book on apple-tree culture, which apparently was the only exchange these two enthusiastic agriculturalists had on their favorite hobby.⁵³ It is a pity agricultural interests did not bring them closer together; Jefferson would have found Pickering more liberal and imaginative than he dreamed, and Pickering would have discovered that "the philosopher of Monticello" had some practical ideas of merit.

Three months later Pickering volunteered his opinion on Jefferson's handling of America's relations with the Negro republic of Santo Domingo. This was the first, *and last*, criticism that Pickering ever made directly to the President. It was an impassioned and very undiplomatic appeal in behalf of the Negroes of Santo Domingo who had won Pickering's lasting respect by their successful defiance of Napoleon. Pickering deplored the administration's intention to prohibit Americans from carrying on commercial intercourse with the island. One excuse the administration had cited was the atrocities of the Negro leader, Dessalines, but Pickering said he doubted if any of Dessalines' atrocities had equaled those of the French Revolution. Then he gave the Presi-

51. Thomas Jefferson to Timothy Pickering, January 13, 1804, P-MHS, XXVII, 24.

52. Thomas Jefferson to Timothy Pickering, January 15, 16, & 19, 1804, and Pickering to Jefferson, January 16 & 18, 1804, P-MHS, XXVII, 30, 33, 38, and 87, and XXXVIII, 65.

53. Thomas Jefferson to Timothy Pickering, December 6, 1805, P-MHS, XXVII, 158. The two men did have some conversations on agriculture and had very similar ideas on the proper design for the mould board of a plow. Octavius Pickering and Charles W. Upham, *The Life of Timothy Pickering* (Boston, 1873), IV, 353.

dent a real lambasting. He noted that Jefferson frequently excused the French Revolutionary excesses on the grounds that "infuriated men were seeking . . . thro' blood and slaughter their long-lost liberty." This apology, Pickering said, will "apply with ten-fold propriety & force to the rude blacks of St. Domingo."

If Frenchmen, when more free than the subjects of any monarch in Europe, the English excepted . . . could find in you an apologist for cruel excesses of which the world had furnished no example—are the hapless, the wretched Haytians, ('guilty,' indeed, 'of a skin not coloured like our own') . . . , after enjoying freedom for many years, having maintained it in arms resolved *to live free or die*;—are these men not merely to be abandoned to their own efforts, but to be deprived of those necessary supplies which for a series of years they have been accustomed to receive from the U. States, and without which they cannot subsist?

He said it would be a "disgrace" if the President allowed the proposed bill to become law; it could not fail to be concluded that the administration did this "with spaniel servility . . . at the nod, at the *insolent demand* of the Minister of France!" Pickering placed the responsibility squarely on Jefferson's shoulders: "Sir, the moment you sign this act . . . you seal the degradation of your country."⁵⁴

The author of the Declaration of Independence must have felt very uncomfortable, to say the least, to be lectured on freedom by a man he considered a Tory and a monocrat. Jefferson did not answer the letter and never wrote again till Pickering's overture on religion in 1821. Pickering must have been in a rare mood the night he penned that impassioned blast, for he was not usually so incautious. The slavery issue no doubt was a factor in raising his steam here, for he despised the hypocrisy of Jefferson, the slave owner, posing as the champion of liberty. Pickering, who deplored slavery, had a righteous feeling that in truth he was more of a freedom-loving man than Thomas Jefferson. He accused Jefferson of wanting to become a sort of king and frequently referred to the Democratic legislators as "the troops of the Palace."⁵⁵

54. Timothy Pickering to Thomas Jefferson, February 24, 1806, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress, CLVII.

55. Timothy Pickering to Rufus Putnam, December 6, 1803, P-MHS, XIV, 50, and Pickering to Richard Peters, April 13, 1806, Peters Papers.

Actually, in his mellow moments Pickering gave Jefferson some credit for his contributions in the early phase of the Revolution.⁵⁶ But he was unwilling to credit him with the Declaration of Independence. In that illustrious document, Jefferson had "but a share of merit," according to Pickering, since it was "very materially amended," and the other members of the committee, who were far "abler men," made so many suggestions as to make Jefferson merely "a compiler."⁵⁷ "Compiler" of the Declaration of Independence!—This was the cruellest blow of all. It was somewhat a measure of Pickering's low opinion of Jefferson that he gave chief credit for the Declaration of Independence to John Adams, who, next to Jefferson, was Pickering's pet hate.⁵⁸ Even to the small degree to which he was willing to give Jefferson *any* credit for the historic document, Pickering reduced its value by observing that Jefferson's admirers constantly made the mistake of "confounding" the *Declaration* of Independence with the *obtaining* of independence⁵⁹—Pickering had had no part in the former; he had had a rather large part in the latter. Pickering also observed that Jefferson did not pay too much attention to the Declaration anyway; not only did he practice slavery but he completely ignored the excellent clause which read "We must therefore view them (The British) as we view the rest of mankind—enemies in war—in peace friends."⁶⁰ Pickering was never able to perceive any spirit of friendship in Jefferson's policies towards Britain; he thought he manifested more of the manner of an extortionist than of a statesman in his English policies.⁶¹

At length Jefferson's "vile administration" came to an end; to Pickering it was an administration that had laid a long trail of

In this letter Pickering told Peters: "Just now we have no *royal timber*, but it is *growing*; and our children will see it in its *maturity*."

56. Timothy Pickering, Notebook, 1827, P-MHS, XLVI, 272.

57. Timothy Pickering to Richard Peters, March 24, 1806, Peters Papers, and Pickering to Robert Liston, March 19, 1805, P-MHS, XIV, 123.

58. Timothy Pickering, "Observations Introductory to Reading the Declaration of Independence at Salem, July 4, 1823," in Pickering and Upham, *Life of Pickering*, IV, 465.

59. Timothy Pickering, Memorandum, 1811, P-MHS, LIV, 249.

60. Timothy Pickering to Richard Peters, March 24, 1806, Peters Papers.

61. Timothy Pickering to James McHenry, December 26, 1807, McHenry Papers, photostat.

"misstatement, prevarication, duplicity, and sophistry."⁶² As early as 1806, before the hated Embargo had yet had a chance to set Pickering's teeth on edge, he summarized Jefferson's administration in very black hues:

If Jefferson had not been five years our President, I should not have believed it possible for one man, controuled by precise constitutional rules and laws, to produce such a revolution in politics and morals as we now see. . . . The national spirit and dignity are gone — never to rise while Jefferson bears rule. And who will succeed? A man of character & ability? No! The feeble, timid Madison, or the dull Monroe. . . . Fools and knaves will continue to be the general favourites of the people, until the government is subverted.⁶³

Events seemed to bear out part, if not all of Pickering's fears. Madison's policies seemed to differ in but a minor way from those of his predecessor. Pickering was sure that Madison was merely Jefferson's mouthpiece.⁶⁴ After reading President Madison's message in January, 1810, Pickering observed that it "consists of the old Jeffersonian bubbles, which Jefferson too has again blown up—Madison holding the tube."⁶⁵ He saw so little difference between the two administrations that he applied some of the same old epithets to the new President that he had coined for the old. Thus in 1814 he referred to Madison as "the detestable hypocrite" and observed that "To Jefferson as the original mover & to Madison as his willing co-operator, are to be ascribed all the evils which afflict and which have afflicted our country for the last seven years."⁶⁶ Pickering had once had a fairly high opinion of Madison, in the days of 1787-89 when Madison was referred to as "the virtuous," and Pickering felt that his fall was due to one man and one man only—Thomas Jefferson. The

62. Timothy Pickering to John Pickering, Jr., February 27, 1808, P-EI, microfilm, and Pickering to the Rev. Dr. John Mason, January 4, 1809, P-MHS, XIV, 175.

63. Timothy Pickering to Richard Peters, April 13, 1806, Peters Papers.

64. Timothy Pickering to George Cabot, December 1, 1808, P-MHS, XIV, 214.

65. Timothy Pickering to John Pickering, Jr., January 4, 1810, P-EI, microfilm.

66. Timothy Pickering to Mrs. Pickering, January 1, 1814, P-EI, microfilm.

corruption of Madison, Pickering contended, was one of Jefferson's greatest political sins.⁶⁷

Only once did Pickering have something nice to say about any act of Jefferson's. In 1806 he commended the President's appointment of Brockholst Livingston to the Supreme Court.⁶⁸ In the mellowness of his old age, Pickering did confess that in matters concerning "taste" he was willing "to place a value on Mr. Jefferson's opinion."⁶⁹ But even in such matters he found fault. He had objected to the President's democratizing of protocol in receiving and entertaining foreign ambassadors. He was shocked when he learned that Jefferson had intentionally received the British minister "in his slippers and an undress!"⁷⁰ And he was equally shocked to learn that the President had pointedly given the ladies of the Cabinet precedence over the wives of the foreign representatives.⁷¹

Not even when Jefferson died, on the fiftieth anniversary of the nation's birth, did Pickering show much forgiveness. He was willing to acknowledge that Jefferson had made some contribution towards the Revolution, but he deplored the eulogies which some Federalists proceeded to make on their deceased arch-enemy.⁷² It was an added irritant for Pickering that his other *bête noire*, John Adams, had also aroused a flood of eulogies by timing his death perfectly on the same noted day. After standing it for a couple of weeks, Pickering got fed up with "the present popular mania" for "Eulogies on the deceased Adams & Jefferson" and blasted the public as being "Commemoration mad!"⁷³ He deplored also the newspapers' Pollyannic praise of the delightful friendship that had bound Adams and Jefferson together in their last years—a friendship that was carried on by remote control

67. Timothy Pickering to Richard Peters, April 22, 1808, and Pickering to John Marshall, December 26, 1828, P-MHS, XIV, 200, and XVI, 327.

68. Timothy Pickering to John Pickering, Jr., December 1, 1806, P-EI, microfilm.

69. Timothy Pickering to Sally Peters, November 12, 1828, P-MHS, XVI, 284.

70. Timothy Pickering to Richard Peters, December 24, 1803, P-MHS, XIV, 69.

71. *Ibid.*

72. Timothy Pickering to William Coleman, August 8, 1826, and Pickering to Thomas Gray, January 10, 1827, P-MHS, XVI, 137 and 172.

73. Timothy Pickering to William Coleman, August 8, 1826, P-MHS, XVI, 137.

as they passed what Pickering sourly called "love letters" between Quincy and Monticello.⁷⁴

Even after Jefferson made his final exit Pickering kept up his relentless attack. It was a measure of his deep loathing of Jefferson and of his own determination to be consistent to the end—whatever Pickering was, he was not a hypocrite—nor a forgiving man.

"Hypocrite" was only one of a long list of choice epithets with which Pickering labeled Thomas Jefferson⁷⁵—through long practice and application Pickering became a verbal artist in his castigation of our third president. In his milder moments Pickering liked to deride Jefferson's philosophic bent of mind. Thus he dubbed him "the Moonshine philosopher of Monticello." He varied this sometimes, calling him merely "the philosopher of Monticello," "the equally celebrated & wronghanded *statesman* of Monticello," and "the moonshine philosopher and detestable citizen."⁷⁶ Pickering was convinced that Jefferson was a politician "of little, wretched contemptible principles,"⁷⁷ so he poured on a large number of epithets varying on this theme: "miserable politician," "wretched & pusillanimous politician," "miserable, skulking projector," "arch-juggler," "gross political imposter," and "that political mountebank."⁷⁸ Jefferson's purchase of Louisiana and his expansionist leanings brought forth from Pickering the contemptuous sobriquet, "our Great Land-Jobber."⁷⁹ Pickering played the scale of invective from top to bottom: from "cowardly wretch" to "that son of Belial."⁸⁰ Most often, Jefferson caused Pickering to employ superlatives—of a very backhanded sort—such as "the

74. Timothy Pickering to Nathaniel Paine, September 7, 1826, P-MHS, XVI, 149.

75. Timothy Pickering to Richard Peters, April 22, 1808, P-MHS, XIV, 200.

76. Timothy Pickering to James McHenry, January 5, 1811, McHenry Papers, photostat; Pickering to Peters, January 30, 1811, Peters Papers; Pickering to James Hillhouse, February 18, 1823, and Pickering to William Reed, January 31, 1812, P-MHS, XV, 332, and XIV, 382.

77. Timothy Pickering to Richard Peters, March 24, 1806, Peters Papers.

78. Timothy Pickering to Mrs. Pickering, January 31, 1806, P-EI, microfilm; Pickering to Fisher Ames, February 2, 1806, Pickering, Notebook, April 13, 1827, Pickering, Notebook, [1828], and Pickering to John Lowell, January 18, 1824, P-MHS, XXXVIII, 102 $\frac{1}{2}$, XLVI, 337, LII, 39, and XV, 310.

79. Timothy Pickering to Fisher Ames, March 11, 1806, XIV, 152.

80. Timothy Pickering to Rufus King, March 4, 1804, King Papers, and Pickering to Samuel W. Dana, February 17, 1812, P-MHS, XIV, 384.

most flagitious of public men."⁸¹ When the electoral votes in the election of 1804 were read off in the Senate, Pickering sadly commented, "162 votes for the worst man in the nation,—and 14 for two of the best."⁸² He later enlarged this appraisal somewhat, calling Jefferson "the worst and most mischievous man in the U. States," and, on a world scale, "one of the worst men who ever directed the affairs of a free country," and certainly "the greatest political imposture that ever cursed a country possessed of the means, like ours, of correct information."⁸³ As was mentioned earlier Pickering stamped Jefferson with a sort of "doctrine of original sin," calling him "the origin of our political evil," the man "who has done more to corrupt & debase this [country], than all other causes from the commencement of our revolution," and above all the Federalists' "greatest, their exterminating enemy."⁸⁴

At least Pickering gave Jefferson the benefit of company in the miserable hell to which he assigned him, for he did not have a much higher view of many other Democrats, calling them "a class of villains as atrocious as ever disgraced a nation" and "a set of miscreants contaminated with every vice."⁸⁵ Yet in spite of the superlative nature of Pickering's epithets on Jefferson, he had to acknowledge that "strong as some of mine may have been, and bad as I have thought him," John Randolph deserved the top laurels in pillorying the hated figure.⁸⁶ Not long before he died Pickering wrote that Randolph had once told him in private that Jefferson's "character on the page of history, will appear black as hell."⁸⁷

As Thomas Jefferson looks down from his shrine above the tidal basin of the Potomac and surveys the busy scene where he and Pickering and Randolph and a host of other violent, patriotic

81. Timothy Pickering, Memorandum, 1810-11, P-MHS, LIV, 249.

82. Timothy Pickering to Fisher Ames, February 14, 1805, P-MHS, XXXVIII, 97.

83. Timothy Pickering to John Smith, August 2, 1813, P-MHS, XIV, 425; Pickering to Richard Peters, March 24, 1806, Peters Papers; Pickering to James McHenry, December 29, 1808, McHenry Papers, photostat.

84. Timothy Pickering to Richard Peters, January 30, 1811, and March 24, 1806, Peters Papers, and Pickering to Thomas Gray, January 10, 1827, P-MHS, XVI, 172.

85. Timothy Pickering to Mrs. Pickering, April 4, 1808, P-EI, microfilm, and Pickering to Fisher Ames, February 19, 1806, P-MHS, XXXVIII, 103.

86. Timothy Pickering to Alden Bradford, December 9, 1826, P-MHS, XVI, 168.

87. Timothy Pickering, Memorandum, [1828], P-MHS, XXXI, 54.

men made history, he can be grateful that historians have other pages of history to read besides those penned by Timothy Pickering. But if the ghost of old Tim also stalks that basin and looks up with horrified eyes at the idol-carved enshrinement of "the worst man in the nation," he probably wants to take us all by the coat and shout "Listen to me! This is the way that man really was!" The above portrait is the one Timothy would give us if he could; an extreme caricature at best, it may, nonetheless, lift up "one corner of the curtain"⁸⁸ which conceals the true Thomas Jefferson.

88. Timothy Pickering to George Cabot, December 1, 1808, P-MHS, XIV, 214: "one corner of the curtain which concealed the insincerity, the duplicity, the falsehood of the executive, has been lifted up."

PAINTED WALL PAPER IN THE LINDALL
—BARNARD—ANDREWS HOUSE

By NINA FLETCHER LITTLE

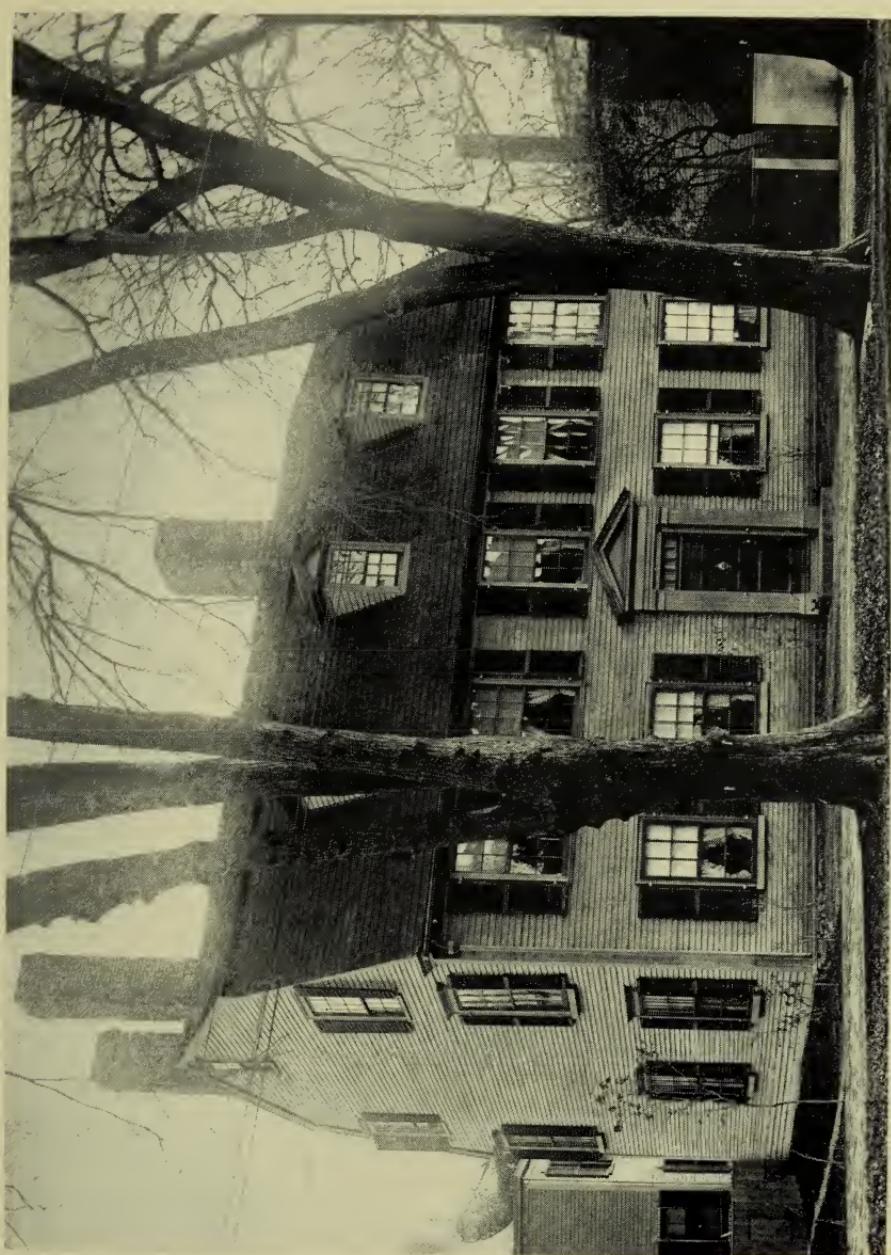
THE VOGUE FOR SCENIC PANORAMAS was just beginning in New England when Elias Hasket Derby's ship *Mount Vernon* docked in Salem on July 7, 1800.¹ She was returning from an adventurous voyage to the Mediterranean and carried as a passenger a young Neapolitan artist-decorator, one Michele Felice Cornè. The Derby family who sponsored Cornè's voyage to America believed that he was of aristocratic birth, a "gentleman of noble family" who was glad of the opportunity to escape from enforced military duty in Naples. Whatever his background and training may have been, his talent was unmistakable, and he was a competent decorative painter with a flair for color and design.

During the early decades of the nineteenth century many fine houses in Salem and vicinity were embellished with scenic "paper hangings" which were imported from France. The paper was block printed in separate sheets which, when hung in proper sequence, provided a continuous panorama around a room or hallway. The usual number of strips in a set varied between twenty and thirty and were designed to fill the space above a dado or chair rail. When wainscotting was lacking, a printed surbase of balustrades could be purchased and applied separately.

Wall paper panoramas consisted of many different series of picturesque or romantic scenes such as those illustrating the *Monuments of Paris*. Episodes in the story of *Cupid and Psyche*, exotic eastern scenes in *Paysage Indien* or the *Voyages of Captain Cook* were particularly popular.

The quarter-century following Cornè's arrival in Salem was an era of great public interest in large panoramic views. Not only did they appear as wall decorations, they were also executed for public display. The public exhibitions consisted of long painted rolls depicting foreign scenery or topical events of the moment, and were mounted on vertical winding rollers, thus enabling them

1. The original log book of this voyage of the *Mount Vernon* has recently been received by the Peabody Museum. The Salem *Gazette* of July 8, 1800, announces the ship's arrival in Salem on the preceding day.



LINDALL - BARNARD - ANDREWS HOUSE

to be drawn across the stage before the eyes of the wondering spectators. These moving panoramas were the precursors of the modern moving picture. In the mid-nineteenth century the citizens of Boston flocked to see a representation of Connecticut River scenery by another Neapolitan artist, Nicolina V. Calyo of New York, the surface of which measured seventeen by forty feet as it passed before the admiring populace.²

On February 6, 1807, the Reverend William Bentley wrote in his famous *Diary*, "Mr. King [William King, the silhouettist] has a panorama in Salem. It is the Siege of Tripoli. The ships are done by Cornè . . . The ships are good but the whole admits of some improvement." This masterpiece measured ten by sixty feet and was shown in Marblehead as well as in Washington Hall, Salem. The subject was the bombardment of Tripoli by Commodore Edward Preble's squadron in 1804. Several renditions of this engagement, both in oil and water color, had been previously painted by Cornè, and one example signed and dated *M. Cornè pinxit 1805* is owned by the United States Naval Academy in Annapolis.

Two years later Cornè exhibited both in Salem and Boston a large painting of the Bay of Naples, a subject which he was to use again in 1810 as part of a wall decoration in the Providence home of Sullivan Dorr. The Reverend Mr. Bentley was not overly impressed with this spectacle when he went to view it with several young female companions on December 1, 1809, finding it only a copy of "the common plates at the entrance, neither showing the city nor basin and without one stroke of originality. The claim on public notice was from a display of the American ship *Constitution* dressed in flags of all nations with six gun boats lent by the King of Naples in the affair of Preble against Tripoli. Yet it is said to have unbounded admiration in Boston and is exhibited in Salem at 1/4D. [25¢]. It is about 10 by 8 feet probably, & as the Keeper says looks best at a distance."³

It is interesting to note that Cornè's *Bay of Naples* preceded by several years the well-known version depicted as part of a set of printed wall paper which was issued in Paris by Dufour between 1815 and 1820 under the title of *Vues d'Italie*. This paper

2. *Boston Daily Evening Transcript*, April 25, 1850.

3. William Bentley, *Diary* (Salem, 1911), III, 481.

was included in an announcement of importations by James H. Foster of 59 Marlborough St., Boston, which appeared in the *New England Palladium*, on December 2, 1817. It became one of the most popular of the imported papers, at least ten different sets having been traced in America.⁴

Still standing at 393 Essex Street, Salem, is the gambrel-roofed Lindall-Barnard-Andrews house, built circa 1740 by Timothy Lindall and subsequently occupied by the Reverend Thomas Barnard, pastor of the North Church until his death in 1814. During his occupancy Samuel McIntire introduced a delicately carved mantel and accompanying dado into the eighteenth-century parlor, and probably at the same time Cornè was commissioned to decorate the hallways in the prevailing landscape style. Cornè's murals were painted on irregular-shaped sheets of heavy paper which had been previously pasted to the surface of the plaster wall. The result was actually a painted paper which closely approximated the frescoed walls of the period. An eighteenth-century fresco adorns the hall and staircase of the McPhaedris-Warner house in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and many nineteenth-century examples by the itinerant artist Rufus Porter are to be found in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Maine.

Unlike the French wall papers which told a story by means of a connected pictorial sequence, Cornè's scenes were individual episodes unrelated to one another. In various spaces in the hallways of the Lindall house he combined mountain scenery, pastoral landscapes, rustic cottages, huntsmen and hounds, and for good measure painted a majestic antlered stag under the staircase. In the upper hall a tranquil river slid into a brimming waterfall which tumbled precipitously down the stairwell. One scene in the upper hall, showing a group of crofters in a cottage doorway, must have derived its inspiration from an English print. It is closely related in feeling to two overmantel pictures which Cornè painted for Oak Hill, the country house of Elias Hasket Derby which he purchased in 1789 and bequeathed ten years later to his eldest daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Derby West. These paintings, owned by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, are entitled *Saturday Evening* and *Sunday Morning*, the former derived from a

4. Nancy McClelland, *Historic Wall-Papers* (Philadelphia, 1924), p. 273.

painting by William Redmore Bigg and exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1792.⁵

When the Lindall house was being remodeled for physicians' offices in 1957, the owner, Dr. L. Alexander Vance, generously offered the painted paper as a gift to the Essex Institute. Its removal from the house was a delicate process requiring much skill and was supervised by Lewis Perry of the Edward K. Perry Co. of Boston. The paper was loosened from the walls with a pallet knife wherever possible, although in some places it was necessary to apply steam from the back by means of holes bored in the plaster. After removal it was mounted on lining paper backed by unbleached cotton to ensure preservation and to facilitate hanging it in a new location.

The comparatively few years during which Cornè lived in Salem were productive ones. In addition to scenic panoramas for private and public display he painted landscapes on overmantel panels, fireboards, portraits, and many ship pictures in oil and watercolor for which he has become famous. At one time he journeyed to Nova Scotia cutting silhouettes, probably with William King, his collaborator in the painting of the *Siege of Tripoli*. Sometime during the first decade of the nineteenth century he took up residence in Boston. In 1810 he was listed in the Boston Street Directory as a limner living at 61 Middle Street. He may have moved out of Salem before that, however, as in February, 1807, Bentley refers to him as "formerly living in this town."⁶ He remained in Boston until 1822 when he removed to Newport, Rhode Island, where he died on July 10, 1845. During his Boston sojourn he painted his well-known series of naval engagements of the War of 1812. Many of these appeared as illustrations in Bowen's *Naval Monument* and *The Naval Temple*. At this time also, according to Mason's *Reminiscences of Newport*, he painted the walls of the John Hancock house with scenic frescoes, but no other reference to this fact has been found.

In addition to the painting in the Lindall house one other comparable Cornè mural still exists. This decorates the parlor, hallway, and staircase wall of the Sullivan Dorr house at 109 Benefit Street, Providence, Rhode Island, and is now owned by the

5. Nina Fletcher Little, *American Decorative Wall Painting, 1700-1850*. (Sturbridge, Mass., 1952), illus. p. 43.

6. Bentley, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

Providence Preservation Society. This imposing mansion was designed and built by John Holden Greene and completed in 1810 for Sullivan Dorr. Dorr was a native Bostonian who had travelled to Canton to represent his family in the fur trade in 1799. He returned to Boston in 1803, married in 1804, and took up residence in his wife's native city of Providence where he became a leading merchant.

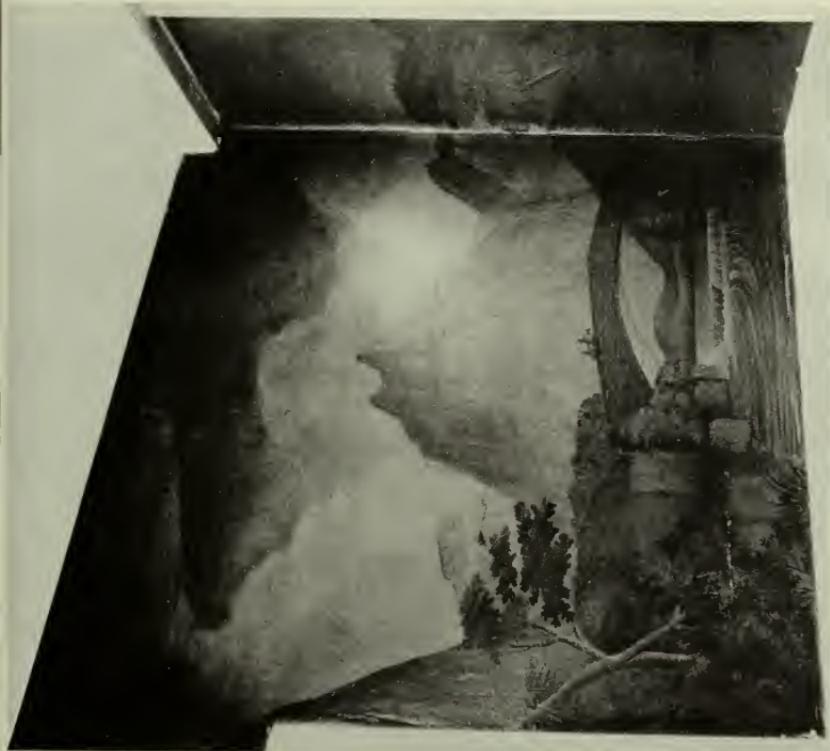
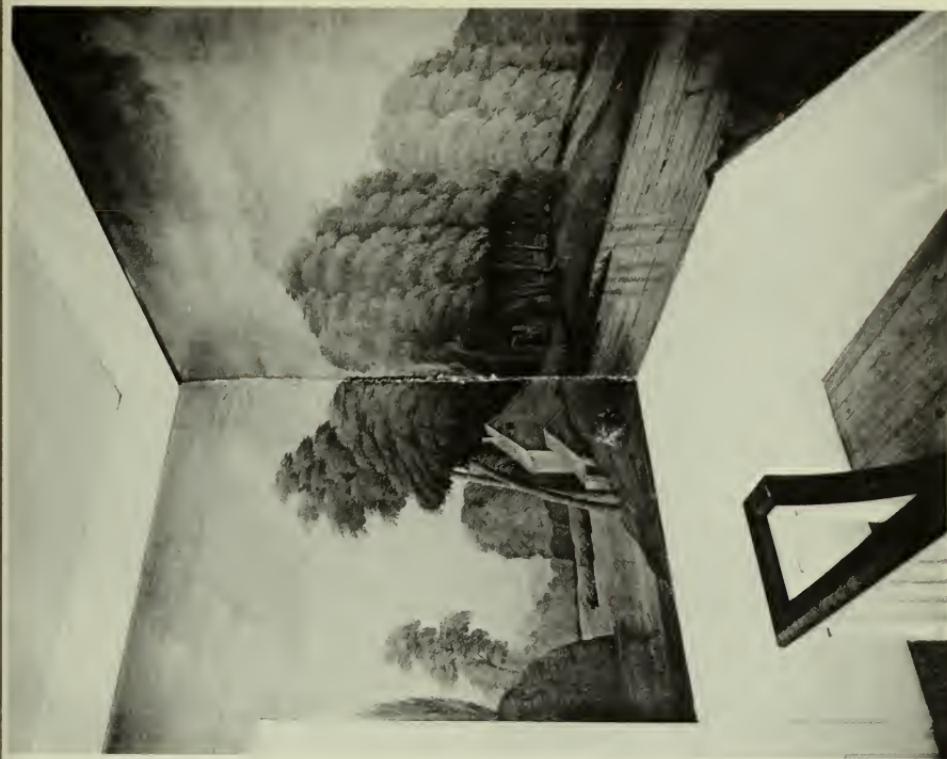
Included in a file of original receipted bills for the building of the Dorr house is Cornè's account in the substantial amount of \$417.00 for interior decoration. This itemized list states that Cornè painted nine rooms "in Fresco." This was done on a paper background in the same manner as in the Lindall house. Two lower rooms, one of which was the parlor, cost \$220.00, and the "lower and upper front entries" were listed at \$140.00. The two front chambers were painted with clouds, the two rear chambers in blue, and both had marbled surbases at a total price of \$42.00.⁷

In the hallway the scenes are varied and include castles, ruins, a tropical landscape, a snow scene and a water fall. Each subject is a separate unit joined together in a continuous but unrelated series. In the handsome parlor, above a marbled dado, Cornè's work shows to its best advantage. On one long wall he used again a fine view of the Bay of Naples, reminiscent of the large painting which he had displayed in Salem in December, 1809. A different version of the same locale was not to appear until several years later on imported French wall paper.

Apparently Cornè made sketches of some of the details in his murals. A small water-color drawing of the bird-shooting scene which appears in the Dorr house hallway is owned by the author, and may have been a preliminary study for the completed work. The Redwood Library owns several small drawings of figures which have perforated outlines and were obviously intended to serve as a type of transfer pattern. One of these groups, enlarged in size, may be seen in the center of the *Bay of Naples*.

A third mural decoration has been attributed to Cornè, although definite identification is now impossible owing to the house having been destroyed by fire in 1904. "The Mount," built in Bristol,

7. Antoinette F. Downing, "New Light on the Sullivan Dorr House," *Rhode Island History*, XVI (April 1957).









Rhode Island, in 1808 by James De Wolf, has been described by his great-grandniece as follows: "The interior was arranged and finished with artistic taste, the walls of one of the long drawing rooms being painted by a French artist in scenes from the owner's coffee plantation in Cuba."⁸ A second room is said to have been decorated with views from the story of *Paul and Virginia*. Scenes from this romantic tale became the subject of a wall paper designed by Brock and printed by Dufour of Paris in 1820.

The decorated walls of his own home in Newport have now disappeared leaving the Lindall and Dorr murals as the only known surviving examples of Cornè's spirited and picturesque scenic frescoes.

8. Alicia Hopton Middleton, *Life in Carolina and New England* (Bristol, R. I., 1929). The drawing room, with murals in the background are illustrated, p. 101.

RUFUS CHOATE: A CASE STUDY IN OLD WHIGGERY

By DAVID BRADSTREET WALKER

CONSERVATISM HAS REEMERGED as a powerful intellectual and political force in contemporary America, and authorities on this development like Clinton Rossiter are trumpeting the call for a whole series of "sanely conservative" studies that look anew at our conservatives and capitalists. More than any other group the Old Whigs of the Middle Period of our history deserve a reappraisal, for all too frequently they have suffered most at the hands of our liberal-progressive historians or endured the worse fate of being forgotten altogether.

Rufus Choate (1799-1859) is one of the major undeserving victims of the latter misfortune. The reasons for this are fairly clear. A brilliant, life-time career in advocacy, a brief sojourn in the world of professional politics, an adherence to a body of conservative principles, along with a typically American tendency to present these ideas in a rather unsystematic fashion combine to provide a rather frail foundation for enduring fame. If he is remembered at all, it is usually for his skill as a criminal lawyer by one of the more historically minded members of the bar like the late Lloyd Paul Stryker, who considered Choate "America's foremost advocate." A few experts on the three decades which preceded the Civil War remember his yeoman services to the Whig Party. It is rare to find anyone who is aware of Choate's accomplishments in both fields and even more unusual to discover one who takes note of his contribution to the development of American political thought. Yet, in the final analysis, it is in the realm of political ideas that he made his most significant contribution.

Primarily, it is the basically conservative orientation of his ideology which explains why Choate is rarely remembered as a political thinker. Prejudicial historical interpreters, both past and present, in effect have conspired to achieve this end. The "progressives" have damned him for his unreconstructed detestation of Jacksonian Democracy and the radical anti-slavery movement. Northern conservatives, for the most part, still acquiesce in the senior Henry Cabot Lodge's estimate of Choate's addresses:

They are earnest and often eloquent, but they present a mournful picture of a typical leader of the Whigs. In his speeches we find the whole creed of the Whig Party, and it is not difficult to see the causes of their downfall. . . .¹

Conservatives of the Lodge mold have never forgiven Choate for his moderate stand on slavery, his conciliatory attitude toward the South, and more especially his violent strictures against the infant Republican Party. Most Southern interpreters of the American political tradition who know of Choate continue to find little reason for granting him sympathetic consideration, for he was after all a confirmed Unionist and hostile to slavery and secession.

Clearly then, his precepts and political stands explain the injustice that later generations have accorded Choate, quite as much as the brevity of his career in professional politics and the un-systematic presentation of his political and social ideas. Furthermore, it was primarily because of the doctrines which he enunciated during the last ten years of his life (1850-1859) that he was given this unfair treatment. Had he passed on in the early fifties, he would have been remembered as a lesser Webster and received some of the high praise that northern conservatives customarily bestow on the "immortal Daniel." On the other hand, had he lived to witness the Civil War and the renaissance of Unionism generated by that fratricidal conflict, there can be no doubt that posterity would have rendered him the somewhat kindlier estimate it has given Edward Everett, who assumed the same position as Choate before the War, but fortunately enjoyed a life span that included the war years. Fate then is partially responsible for the unfavorable consideration given to Choate by later generations of American scholars.

But is there justice in all this? Surely a man whose political thought was more original and of a higher caliber than that of either Everett or Webster deserves better treatment than this. Contemporary devotees of the "New Conservatism" in particular should be capable of submerging some of the Republican prejudices of their predecessors. Bay Staters, above all, should evince more than a little curiosity about a man whom Louis Hartz de-

1. Henry Cabot Lodge, Sr., "A Whig Orator, a Review of 'Addresses and Orations of Rufus Choate,'" *The Nation*, XXVII (July-December 1878), 287.

scribed as "that arch apostle . . . of Massachusetts Whiggery."²

Who then was Rufus Choate and what were his major political tenets? To mark the birth of his fourth child, David Choate carefully inscribed in the family Bible on the page separating the Old Testament and the Apocrypha: "Rufus Choate, born Tuesday, October 1, at 3 p. m., 1799."³ In this not unusual fashion, the birth of the most illustrious of a long line of farmers, sailors, sea captains, and pedagogues was recorded. In the spring following his birth, the family moved from the old Choate home on Hog Island to a comparatively new house on Spring Street in what was then known as Chebacco (now Essex), Massachusetts.⁴ The district school master, the parish clergyman, and Dr. Thomas Sewall, a future brother-in-law, were the boy's first formal teachers. A year's preparatory work at the Academy at Hampton, New Hampshire, was sufficient to permit him to enter Dartmouth, as the third youngest in his class.

His course of study at the college was the traditional program which served as the basic formal preparation for New England's pastors, lawyers, teachers, and physicians of that era. Choate quickly gained a reputation for having a first-rate mind and a congenial personality. His study habits were severe, permitting little time for athletics. The drama of the Dartmouth College Case served to enliven his years at Hanover and to fix advocacy as his ultimate professional goal and Webster as his political idol. As highest ranking graduate, he delivered the valedictory oration which arrested the attention of all present. It forecast his later ornate style and emotional technique of delivery.

After toying for a year with the idea of becoming an academician, Choate hesitantly decided to take up law. Through the efforts of Dr. Sewall, he obtained an appointment as law clerk to President Monroe's distinguished Attorney General, William Wirt. The sudden death of his brother, Washington, cut short his apprenticeship and he returned to Chebacco, after only a year's stay in the capital. Following a period of bereavement, he resumed the study of law at the office of Judge Cummins in Salem and in 1823

2. Louis Hartz, "The Whig Tradition in America and Europe," *The American Political Science Review*, XLVI (December 1952), 993.

3. Choate Family Bible, still in the possession of the family, Essex, Massachusetts.

4. This house has remained as a home for Choates to the present day.

was admitted to the bar. The scene of his first professional triumphs was South Danvers (Peabody) and within two years he had gained sufficient recognition to be elected as that community's representative to the lower chamber of the General Court. He was reelected in 1827, but failed in an attempt for the State Senate the following year.

By this time his political and professional successes dictated a move to the more competitive arena that Salem at that time afforded. There he joined a bar which remembered the glory of Dane, Parsons, and Story and still boasted such talented advocates as Leverett Saltonstall, Caleb Cushing, Robert Rantoul, and David Cummins. In short order, Choate was elected to the State Senate, and within two years his legal reputation and forensic skill were such that he was awarded the National Republican Congressional nomination for the Essex South District. The supporters of the incumbent, Benjamin Crowninshield, contended the nomination, but Choate swept the field in the election of 1830, defeating the independent candidacy of Mr. Crowninshield, as well as the Jacksonian and Anti-Masonic nominees.

Though Choate's enthusiasm for his new political post was tepid, he characteristically went to great lengths to prepare for his new responsibilities, grounding himself in the basic arguments concerning the tariff, public lands, the Indian question, nullification, and fiscal policy. During his four years (1831-1834) in the House of Representatives, Choate pursued a strict anti-Jacksonian policy, following Webster's lead on all major issues. Devoting much of his energies to the protectionist cause, he delivered speeches in favor of the Tariff of 1828 ("Tariff of Abominations") and against the Compromise Tariff of 1833. During the nullification crises he supported the President and voted for the Force Bill but felt that Jackson was not sufficiently vigorous in upholding the position of the Federal Government and, incidentally, the protectionist tariff of 1832. The isolated position of the ultra-protectionists at that time caused him to confide to a constituent: "All is rotten and treacherous—the darkest day in my opinion since 1789."⁵

Choate condemned the bank veto and Jackson's subsequent re-

5. To Rev. George Bush, January 29, 1833, Choate MSS, Harvard University.

moval of the deposits of the Federal Government. In private he wrote: "The government is in the hands of one man—strong in the strength of a flushed, organized, attacking majority. He and the majority are the government and all the intermediary institutions of the Constitution—Legislative and Judicial—are now non-certiter."⁶ Yet in the House speech he delivered a temperate, but wholly anti-administration analysis of the constitutional implications of Jackson's actions. His colleague, John Quincy Adams, described it as "the most eloquent speech of this session."⁷

Disgusted with the constant minority position of his party and with the tenor of politics in general, Choate resigned his seat at the end of the session in June, 1834, to return to law. It is impossible to interpret his political creed during this period in any other terms but those of economic conservatism. He was completely absorbed in protecting and advancing the economic interests of his constituency and more especially the material position of the well-to-do classes that dominated the National Republican Party of Massachusetts. There is little transcendent nationalism or humanitarianism discernable in his House speeches or votes.

Before quitting politics, Choate journeyed throughout Essex County to various Masonic lodges in an attempt to heal the breach that had developed between the adherents of the Anti-Masonic Party and the National Republicans. In this minor way, Choate helped to fuse these forces from which by late 1834 a powerful Whig Party emerged.

Though involved in politics to a large extent during his last summer in Salem, he managed to find time to deliver three "literary" addresses. Since his constituents were fully attuned to the ideals of the "Age of Lyceums," his "The Importance of Illustrating New England by a Series of Romances Like the Waverly Novels," "The Colonial Age of New England," and "On Poland" were received with great enthusiasm.

In the fall of 1834, the ex-Congressman, then thirty-five, with his wife, two daughters, and infant son (two children had already been lost by the young couple) transferred his residence to Boston. It was then the second most important commerical center in

6. To Rev. George Bush, December 28, 1833, Choate MSS, Harvard University.

7. John Quincy Adams, *Dairy of John Quincy Adams, 1794-1845*, edited by Alan Nevins (New York, 1928), p. 450.

the nation and a community which took seriously its claim of being the "Athens of America," if not the "Hub of the Universe." The professional competence of the Suffolk bar at that time was "unsurpassed in the whole land for ability and learning."⁸ In the face of rigorous competition, Choate relied upon his proven formula for success: diligent application and intensive study. Though his unique physical appearance, coupled with a thoroughly original method of delivery, aroused curiosity and some measure of amusement among his legal brethren, the continuous stream of verdicts favorable to his clients gradually dispelled the amusement and heightened the curiosity. The years 1834 to 1841 witnessed his rise to the forefront of the Massachusetts bar.

His interest in politics quickened with the prospect of a Whig victory in 1840. An address to the Whig Association of Salem in the spring of that election year excited considerable attention and later he was prevailed upon to give a campaign speech in Boston. The latter was temperate and sober compared to the crudely partisan efforts of most Whig orators during that obscene log-cabin and hard cider campaign. Nonetheless, he in no way felt that the party had sold out to expediency in its selection of Gen. William H. Harrison and its tendency to ignore or straddle all the great issues of the day. Remarkable as it may seem to the student of presidential elections, Choate in contrasting the 1841 British general election (which resulted in the fall of the Melbourne government) with the 1840 American contest, in all seriousness wrote: "But, mark you, how much more peaceably, purely, intellectually did this roaring democracy of ours change its whole government and whole policy, than England had done . . . now."⁹

Despite his party's victory, Choate's future plans in December, 1840, were wholly directed toward achieving greater distinction in the American bar. In the early months of the following year, however, a series of events (chief of which was Webster's resignation from the Senate to become Secretary of State) forced him to reconsider his earlier decision to abandon professional politics. Though many prominent names were mentioned as a possible successor, Webster's preference for Choate prevailed and the par-

8. Samuel Brown, *The Life of Rufus Choate*, 6th Edition (Boston, 1898), p. 68.

9. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

ty's regency and Whig-dominated legislature abided by his selection. There can be no doubt that this was a genuine "draft," since all accounts depict Choate as a reluctant candidate. Before leaving to assume his official duties, he delivered a moving eulogy before an immense throng of mourners in Faneuil Hall to commemorate the passing—hardly one month after his inauguration—of President Harrison.

Choate's four years (1841-1845) in the Senate did much to give breadth and substance to his conservatism. This came about in large part because he sought to play several roles as Senator. As Webster's spokesman in the Senate and as a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, Choate defended the Administration's stand in the famous McLeod affair and eloquently fended off various Democratic attacks on that mighty accomplishment of conservative statesmanship, the Webster-Ashburton Treaty. As a Senator from Massachusetts and adherent to the American System, he fought successfully for the mildly protectionist McKenna Tariff of 1842 and subsequently defended it with a barrage of egalitarianized Hamiltonian arguments against all Southern Democratic attempts to revise it downward. As a spokesman for New England, he vigorously attacked the endeavor by President Tyler and many Democrats to achieve the annexation of Texas by joint resolution and the admission of Florida as a slave state. As mediator between the ultra-nationalistic, loose construction views of Henry Clay and the converse opinions of John Tyler, he fought diligently but unsuccessfully for a bank bill that would satisfy these antagonistic Whig leaders. His failure symbolized his party's inability to convert itself from a loose coalition of "antis" into an effective governing mechanism, for the bank was at the heart of the Whig legislative program.

As Choate, he resisted the attempt by anglophobic Democrats to settle the Oregon question by unilateral, coercive American action. Moreover, he was truly himself when he sought to have the bequest of James Smithson used for the purpose of endowing a national library of three to four hundred thousand books. Calling attention to the fact that there was not a library in the country containing over fifteen thousand volumes, he posed it as a matter of national interest and republican pride to found a library that could rival the greatest of monarchic Europe. A bill embodying

his program was finally passed (after he had left the Senate) and Choate was appointed to the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution. Ultimately, though the law favored his approach, a majority of the Regents succeeded in concentrating the bulk of the funds on research and lectures in the physical sciences. At that point, Choate resigned in disgust.

Henry Clay in his third bid for the presidential office in 1844 was opposed by the first "dark horse" nominee in American politics, James K. Polk. Ordinarily the outcome would have been predictable, but Texas and abolitionism were sufficient to confuse the situation. Choate, as a Whig Senator, campaigned vigorously for a Clay victory, delivering nine speeches in all. Though he regularly spelled out the basic features of the American System, he concentrated on a fiery denunciation of the proposed annexation of Texas, maintaining that the safety of the Union would be menaced by such action. The abolitionist Liberty Party also caught his attention and he warned defecting Whigs that "every vote for Birney counts for James K. Polk."¹⁰ Despite his faith in the rightness of his party's cause, Choate expressed private misgivings about Clay's straddling position on Texas as well as the general lack of enthusiasm for the Whigs. His pessimism was well founded, of course, for Polk and Texas triumphed.

On March 3, 1845, the Senate met, concluded some minor unfinished business and adjourned, *sine die*. Thus ended Choate's career as a legislator and professional politician. Webster was immediately elected to fill the vacancy and Choate with great relief returned to his chosen arena of professional preeminence, advocacy.

The problem of assessing his career in the Senate is complex. Many of his contemporaries, both friends and critics, considered it mediocre or even a failure.¹¹ On the other hand, there were those who contended that "he came up to the highest standard that the people of Massachusetts have ever set for those she has sent to Washington."¹² The facts indicate that an accurate evaluation would fall somewhere between these two extremes. It can-

10. Boston *Semi-Weekly Advertiser*, September 4, 1844.

11. S. W. McCall, "Rufus Choate," *The Western*, new series, (July-August 1878), p. 480.

12. William Everett, "Rufus Choate," *New England Magazine* (September 1896-February 1897), 376.

not be denied that he was ineffectual in committee work and party organization. For the ordinary field work of the Senate, the partisan attacks and rejoinders, the rough personalities, he was unsuited by temperament, taste and inclination. Yet, his eloquence, skillful argumentation, and success in achieving his legislative objectives on not a few occasions indicate that he certainly ranks among the more able Senators whom Massachusetts has elected since 1789. At the heart of this problem of assessment lies the task of evaluating Choate's personality, but space does not permit entering into this fascinating area of examination. In the final analysis, he may be viewed as a victim of geography. Choate would have been a brilliant member of the House of Commons.

Senatorial experience did much to enrich his political creed. Although an economic conservative orientation still predominated, the pressure of the conflicting roles he assumed elevated his idea system at several points to the level of philosophic conservatism. On occasion, Choate transcended economic, parochial, and class considerations to battle for loftier, more national objectives. In all his addresses dealing with foreign policy, he assumed the approach of all genuine conservatives, i.e. one which was governed by a realistic appraisal of the relative power positions of the contending nations. The economic-social philosophy embedded in his tariff speeches reflects a subtle blend of Hamiltonian and Jeffersonian norms. He followed the great Federalist in outlining the wondrous advantages he believed would come with advancing industrialism, but rejected Hamilton's elitism by incorporating the Jeffersonian ideal of equality of opportunity into his defense of manufacturing. In doing this, he reveals the perceptivity of a transitional conservative who was aware of the liberal direction that the American political tradition had taken since 1801 and sought to reformulate the Hamiltonian program in the light of this development. Choate's ingenuity in devising this synthesis makes him one of the precursors of that whole body of conservative social thought that stretches from Andrew Carnegie to Herbert Hoover. With great insight he predicted that the issue of slavery would become inextricably bound up with expansionism and the resulting problem would constitute the greatest that the Union had yet faced. In these ways, Choate revealed a capacity for intellectual growth during his years in the United States Senate.

Choate returned to Boston to find that the prestige of being an ex-Senator greatly enhances a legal reputation, and for the next fourteen years he was without rival in the New England bar. He adhered unswervingly to his desire to achieve preeminence as a lawyer, to be the "master of the twelve." The estimate of his contemporaries as well as that of historians of the American legal profession testify to his brilliant success in this area of endeavor. All manner of high appointments were offered him during his later years including the post of Attorney General of the United States (1849), the Dane professorship of law at Harvard (1849), a Massachusetts Supreme Court Justiceship (1850), and an Associate Justiceship of the Supreme Court of the United States (1851). Choate did become Attorney General of Massachusetts in 1851, but relinquished the position in less than a year. Financial concerns along with a careful reassessment of his aptitudes and skills were the key factors conditioning his refusals.

Though the law was his chief preoccupation during this period, Choate's refined sense of cultural, civic and political duty barred any narrow professional absorption. Clients were numerous and cases time-consuming, but literature, lectures, and politics never suffered any long-time neglect. He complained of the "strenuousness of daily labor" which kept him from adopting a more systematic course of reading and from fulfilling his ambition to write essays on ancient history, classical orators, English literature, and American history.¹³ These literary goals were never realized, but his public lectures remain a significant by-product of his intellectual efforts.

Even more important, these addresses constitute a basic source of many of Choate's fully matured political ideas. Nearly all of these orations reflect the turmoil that characterized the nation's history from the annexation of Texas to the advent of the Civil War. Against the challenge that these harrowing historical circumstances presented, he devised a powerful, articulate defense of America's inherited political and social order. In short, Choate performed that paramount duty of the genuine philosophic conservative—of rising to protect the existing system by enunciating

¹³3. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

a body of theory which could serve as a meaningful rationale for the status quo.

To understand more fully his theories concerning the state, the true character of social change, and the proper role of the judges, the student of political ideas should turn to his most important single address, "The Position and Function of the American Bar" (1845). For added insights into his organic theory of the state, his Charlestown oration on "Washington" (1851) must be examined. Much of his interpretation of the historical origins of the American political tradition are found in his "Thoughts on New England Puritans" (1849) and "On Jefferson, Burr and Hamilton" (1858). The conservative effect of a romantic body of historical national literature was fully developed in his lecture on "Samuel Rogers" (1856). His remarkable anti-liberal attack on individualism was most clearly stated in his much criticized address before the Story Association of the Harvard Law School (1851). The oration on "Mental Power" (1848, 1854) contains Choate's views concerning the nature and purpose of a truly liberal education, and the memorial addresses on Webster (1853, 1859) provide added evidence of his idealization of the great Unionist, as well as a full explanation of Choate's theory of conservative statesmanship. A reading of these literary and historical speeches not only aids in rounding out his mature political creed, but it also provides one of the best opportunities to gauge fully that opulent, interminable variety of oratory which enthralled audiences during that "Golden Age of Eloquence."

Politics always remained an avocation for Choate during his later years. Personal interest, party loyalty, and a deep sense of civic responsibility ensured this. Moreover, as a realist, he was aware that it would only be through this medium that his conservative, unionist ideals could be translated into practice. As a result, he willingly assumed such diverse roles as a leader of the Massachusetts delegation to the Whig National Conventions in 1848 and 1852, an active campaigner in the 1848 and 1856 presidential elections, delegate to the 1853 Massachusetts Constitutional Convention, member of the Whig State Conventions in 1848 and 1851, and frequent public defender of the Unionist cause.

Choate's addresses in 1848 were not as alarmist as those of the previous campaign. General Zachary Taylor, after all, was a hero of the successful Mexican War, and Choate was sure of his nominee's ability to cement public opinion behind a national administration. In addition, he maintained that Whig victory would result in an "extension of the area of Freedom . . . and above all, in keeping California and New Mexico unpolluted by the foot of a slave."¹⁴ Yet he still persisted in condemning the war and pointed to the great strains that it had placed on the bonds of the Union. Despite the fact that the party's membership was divided on the single topic of slavery, he contended that the nation still had need for a party dedicated to the principles of constitutional liberty (i.e. a restricted executive), internal progress, no further territorial expansion, protectionism, and peace. It was during this campaign that Choate first entered upon an analysis of the evils of a "division of parties founded upon geographical lines."¹⁵ He developed the theory that until that time the party organizations—because of their national policies and well-distributed membership—divided and separated individuals, but at the same time actually helped to hold the states together and to consolidate the Union. While criticizing the sectionalism of the Free Soilers in this fashion, he applauded the "nationality and . . . spirit of union . . . that pervades the masses" of the Democratic Party.¹⁶ In this, there is a clue to the direction his politics would take after the break-up of his party. Yet Whiggery, for him, still provided the best means and the soundest policies by which the Union might be preserved. Taylor's election greatly heartened him, for nothing tempers the natural pessimism of a conservative so much as a political victory.

Nonetheless, his fearful predictions of 1844 proved accurate, for the problem of arriving at a settlement of the territorial question turned out to be far more difficult than even he had anticipated. After the great adjustment was finally achieved in 1850, amid the vitriolic verbal dueling of the sectionalists in Congress and while the secessionists were gathering at Nashville and the abolitionists were holding countless denunciatory conventions throughout the North, Choate rose in Faneuil Hall to defend

14. *Salem Register*, October 3, 1848.

15. *Ibid.*, October 30, 1848.

16. *Boston Semi-Weekly Advertiser*, July 25, 1848.

the Compromise Measures. He praised the moderates of both parties—Cass, Clay, Foote, Dickinson, and Webster—who labored so assiduously to secure their passage, declaring that they had achieved the "measure of greatness by remembering that they had a country to preserve as well as a constituency to gratify."¹⁷ Despite the passing of the immediate peril, he insisted that the Union still was in great danger and cited the various ways public opinion was being poisoned by the sectionalist agitations of the press, clergy, politicians, and reformers. The absence of a genuinely organic basis for the Union barred a continuing campaign of reciprocal hatred within the two great regional divisions of the country. To preserve the Union, the two major parties should adhere to a patriotic course and eliminate the topic of slavery from their respective issues. He declared that the radical anti-slavery enthusiasts must recognize that moral duty no less than legal obligation and political interest demanded an acceptance of the Compromise Measures, since no betterment of the Negro's position could ever come about were the Union to dissolve. Meaningful reform could only proceed from a united basis of action and within the confines of the existing constitutional order.

This speech represents a distinct shift in Choate's emphasis and mode of argument. The burden of his attack was directed against the Northern anti-slavery forces. Moreover, his method of analysis was chiefly sociological and ethical rather than legalistic. In examining the emotional factors which accompanied the birth of the Union and aided in its consolidation, Choate developed a rounded statement of his psychic theory of nationality. By way of coping with the pressing issue of slavery, he formulated a neo-Burkean view of social change as the soundest approach to solving the problem. The non-partisan tone of the address constitutes a clear departure from his previous tendency exclusively to identify the Unionist cause with that of the Whigs. All these features represent a new, more mature orientation and forecast his basic method of defending the Union during the last decade of his life.

The territorial problem remained a source of bitter controversy. After the 1850 Compromise had been enacted, he counselled both parties and the Congress to abstain from any further con-

17. S. G. Brown, ed., *Works of Rufus Choate, with a Memoir of His Life* (Boston, 1862), II, 313.

sideration of the issue and to leave to the national judiciary the problem of executing what the legislature had established. When the Kansas-Nebraska crisis erupted, he advised his good friend, Sen. Edward Everett, "I should consult the spirit of the proceeding of 1850 and execute that withersoever it led. But I cannot see yet how that should demand such a measure as this of Mr. Douglas."¹⁸ Subsequently, Choate accepted the Douglas' doctrine of "popular sovereignty," feeling that it was the best means of conciliating the South. At the same time, he believed that it would bar the extension of slavery and remove the problem from the focus of national attention. He was convinced that these objectives would have been achieved in Kansas had there been no outside interference there.

The greatest source of peril, in his opinion, were the extremists in all regions who prevented a pacific settlement of the territorial question and hindered the adjustment of nearly all other public issues. He continued to view the doctrine of secession as a gross misinterpretation of the Constitution. At the same time, he sought to placate southern opinion and pointed out that slavery was sanctioned by the basic frame within the confines of the fifteen states of that region. He was all too well aware that unionist sentiment was gradually withering in Dixie and that every effort had to be made to sustain the national cause there by bolstering the political and psychological position of the pro-unionist forces (mainly Whig) in that section.

For this reason, he vigorously supported the Whig Party on both the national and local levels until it completely disintegrated, believing that it still constituted the first line of defense against all forms of disunionism. At the Whig State Convention in 1851, he tried to energize the party's membership and flayed the parochialism and ideological inconsistencies of the recently emerged Free Soil—Democratic coalition. The following year he traveled to what proved to be the last Whig National Convention at Baltimore. His effort to secure the nomination of Webster failed—as it did in 1848, but he did play an important part in having the resolutions endorsing the 1850 Compromise incorporated into the party platform.

When Massachusetts Whigs refused to accept the national par-

18. Brown, *Works of Rufus Choate*, I, 190.

ty's nominee, Gen. Winfield Scott, and proceeded to launch the independent candidacy of their hero, Webster, Choate was confronted with a perplexing problem. His silence during the summer and early fall of 1852 stemmed from a deep inner conflict between two ancient loyalties which to this time had always been in accord: the one to Webster and the other to his party. The dilemma was tragically resolved when he learned of Webster's death in October. He publicly supported Scott, but did not campaign actively on his behalf. The election of Franklin Pierce did not greatly disturb him, for he was beginning to realize that the Democracy of 1852 was not that of 1832.

Choate contended against the Coalitionists in the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention of 1853. Though he spoke on many subjects, the most important was his masterful defense of the traditional system of appointment and tenure of the judiciary against the democratizing efforts of his liberal antagonists. Pointing to British practice since the Act of Settlement, Hamilton's seventy-eighth Federalist Paper, and to the past experience of the United States and Massachusetts, he concluded that the ancient mode of executive appointment was the wisest means of procuring a competent, independent judiciary. Attacking the Coalitionists' attempt to limit judicial tenure, he delivered a powerful brief showing that the personal security and prestige that were associated with tenure for good behavior were important psychological factors motivating the acceptance of judicial appointments by prominent, highly qualified legalists. Choate's arguments caused some of the leading Coalitionists to defect, and the Convention rejected the proposal to make the judiciary elective (save in the case of trial judges and police court magistrates). The amendment limiting tenure to ten years was carried, however. The new Constitution along with several proposed amendments to the old basic frame was defeated by the electorate. The split among the Coalitionists—caused in large part by Choate's persuasiveness—contributed significantly to this outcome. That Massachusetts today, alone of the forty-eight states, has a system of executive appointment of judges with tenure for good behavior is in no small measure due to his efforts. Many would consider this his mightiest accomplishment.

During 1854 and 1855 important political realignments took

place with new organizations like the Republican and American (Know-Nothing) Parties attracting defecting elements from both the Whigs and Democrats. Choate toyed briefly with the idea of supporting the Americans but his better judgment prevailed, and he remained loyal to what remained of his party. In a public letter to the Whig State Convention, written in October, 1855, and in an address to a packed gathering of Boston Whigs later that month, he ridiculed the proposal that they disband their organization and rejected the idea of joining the Democrats, Americans, or Republicans. Special attention was paid to the Republicans and in a bitter attack, he declared: "We have no new party to choose and when we have, we will choose any other than that which draws the black line of physical and social geography across the charmed surface of our native land, and finds a republic on one side to love and nothing but an aristocracy to be abhorred and avoided on the other."¹⁹ Despite his efforts, the Whigs fared poorly at the polls that November. His one consolation was the fact that the Republicans did little better. This was the last time the Whigs presented themselves as serious contenders for political office in Massachusetts. The local organization finally suffered the same fate that had overtaken the national party.

The 1856 presidential contest forced Choate to reexamine his political position, for his primary line of defense of the Union, the national Whig party, had dissolved. The Republicans had nominated Colonel John C. Fremont; the Know-Nothings, Millard Fillmore; and the Democrats, James Buchanan. Some leading Republicans believed that the prestige of Choate's name still might be added to those of several other ex-Whigs who had joined their party but Choate made it patently clear in a letter to William Evarts, a future Secretary of State, that his hostility to this "geographical party" remained unaltered. Though many of his conservative friends and associates had swung their support to Fillmore, Choate saw that due to the declining strength of the Know-Nothings, the true alternatives were Fremont or Buchanan.

The logic of his conservative principles dictated his stand, but irrational doubts, nurtured by a life-time opposition to Jacksonianism, persisted. Finally, in a letter to the Whig State Committee

¹⁹ Rufus Choate, "Address to the Whig Convention, October 31, 1855," *Boston Daily Journal*, November 1, 1855.

of Maine, which was made public, he explained at length why he intended to vote for the Democratic candidate. When a friend queried him subsequently about sacrificing his Whig principles with this vote, Choate responded: "Whig principles! I go to the Democrats to find them."²⁰ Choate's letter aroused a storm of protest from the Know-Nothings and Republicans, while Democrats from Pennsylvania to Maine sought his oratorical assistance. In his single campaign address at Lowell, Choate lent powerful support to the Democratic cause. Most of his speech was a massive indictment of the Republicans, in which he criticized their sectional arrogance, ambiguous political objectives, propagandistic reliance on the Declaration of Independence and general lack of a broad, tolerant patriotism. In this hour of peril, he affirmed, America required all the "youthful, vehement, exultant and progressive nationality of the Democratic Party" to win a "victory of peace."²¹

This steadfast adherence to his conservative principles and the concomitant stand for Buchanan—in the face of increasing hostility from key segments of New England's press, citizenry, professional groups and political elite—offer a noteworthy example of Choate's courage. More significant is the fact that it was dictated by wholly selfless motives. One can only explain his position here in terms of his deep love of country, his awareness of the structure and traditions of America, and his abiding distrust of the radical implications of the Republican policies. "Awareness, reflection, traditionalism and at least some degree of disinterestedness," to use Rossiter's phrasing, are the traits of the genuine conservative.²² To criticize Choate for not anticipating Buchanan's later "doughface" shortcomings, is to damn such illustrious Jacksonians and anti-slavery proponents as Martin Van Buren and Thomas Hart Benton, who like Choate supported Buchanan as the man most likely to give the country a wholly "national" administration.

During the last four years of his life, he assumed the stance of a non-partisan Unionist. Though he had not joined their party, he was greatly depressed when the Democrats split wide open

20. Joseph Neilson, *Memories of Rufus Choate* (Boston, 1884), p. 351.

21. Brown, *Works of Rufus Choate*, II, 412.

22. Clinton Rossiter, *Conservatism in America* (New York, 1955), p. 9.

over Kansas in 1857, for the last political bridge between North and South appeared irreparably demolished. Buchanan's support of the minority, pro-slavery Lecompton constitution, which precipitated the cleavage, completely undermined whatever faith Choate had in him.

Devotion to his conservative ideals never faltered, and in 1858 he consented to give the July Fourth oration before the Young Men's Democratic Club of Boston. This last major public address in many ways constitutes a summation of the man's political creed. Though his voice was weak and old vigor gone, his romantic nationalism still pulsated forcefully. He castigated the sectional fanatics and the shortsighted moralists as the real enemies of the Union and spelled out the essential conditions of American "nationality." The past taught that compromise and human intelligence of the type that "learns and then teaches the duties of a comprehensive citizenship" as well as sustained, conscious individual efforts were crucial factors in the development of our national consciousness.²³ All three then should be cultivated as virtues, for they were in effect the instruments of God. Since the Bible, philosophy, and the teachings of history reveal that the Deity "wills the national life," it follows that God sanctions these indispensable means to achieve this ordained end.²⁴ Nationalism in his analysis thus became the highest form of social morality. With the crushing exigencies of the times in mind, he counselled his listeners:

Do no evil that good may come. Perform your share, for you have a share, in the abolition of slavery; perform your share, for you have a share, in the noble and generous strife of the sections—but perform it by keeping a United, Loving and Christian America . . .²⁵

Such was Choate's advice to the dwindling number of conservatives in the North. By 1858, his trans-Alleghenian American principles were nearly obliterated from the national political scene by the steaming fury of a sectional conflict. They survived, however, and in 1860 provided a rallying point for moderates everywhere in the Constitutional Union Party of John Bell and Edward

23. Brown, *Works of Rufus Choate*, II, 436.

24. *Ibid.*, II, 436.

25. *Ibid.*, II, 439.

Everett. Had Choate lived he would have supported this hastily reconstructed Whig Party with all the strength at his command, for its slogan, "The Constitution of the Country, the Union of the States, and the Enforcement of the Law," was but a restatement of his basic constitutional precepts. Moreover there was little in Lincoln's unionism to which Choate would have taken exception. There is an extraordinary parallel between the later conservative positions of these two former members of the old Whig Party.²⁶

Those who dismiss Choate's political views of this later period as merely those of a "Doughface" or mesmerized "Cotton Whig" reveal a superficial assessment of the man and the decade and a half which preceded the War. A more penetrating analysis would indicate that they were the sober opinions of a patriot who long since had risen above narrow party considerations, of a republican who believed that a free government could not rest on coercion, of a conservative who felt that genuine reform could never transpire in a disintegrating society, of a constitutionalist who considered the basic frame to be legally and morally supreme, of a traditionalist who held that each generation had the sacred responsibility of transmitting safely to its successor the inherited social and political order, and of an American who transcended sectional loyalty and was mindful of the welfare of the whole nation.

The foregoing survey of the man and his political tenets shows that Choate's ideological development followed a course which began at the primitive economic level and ascended gradually to a plane where it assumed the character of a philosophic conservative body of thought. The mighty challenges to the status quo presented by territorial expansion, secessionism, and abolitionism were the primary factors conditioning this intellectual evolution, for they compelled him to ponder hard and long about the meaning of America's past and the worth of her inherited political and social order. Though the concepts resulting from these reflections were not enunciated in an orderly fashion, the diligent, probing reader may extract a harmonious system of political prin-

26. Cf. Richard Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition*, Vintage Books edition (New York, 1948), pp. 101, 103, 125-133.

ciples from the mass of historical and literary addresses, political speeches, and public and private letters that Choate wrote during his later years. Though Choate, like all good conservatives, was distrustful of "theory" per se, it does him no injustice—by way of recapitulation—to list the core ideas that emerge from these writings:

Man is a creature of reason and emotion, with potentialities for both good and evil.

Men are unequal in skills, wisdom, and virtue and these differentiating factors give rise to deference and power elites within society.

The conscience of the individual is a highly fallible means of discovering correct solutions to ethical and political problems.

The true method of gaining knowledge in the realm of the social sciences necessarily entails that variety of empiricism which seeks out tested principles of action from the accumulated wisdom of a people, especially as it is embodied in the traditional law.

A truly educational program of study involves a broad liberal arts curriculum.

Inherited symbols, rituals, and institutions are necessary, instructive, and sacred.

Individual rights can only be preserved if the citizen recognizes the reciprocal obligation of obeying the laws, preserving the state and honoring the cultural and political heritage transmitted to him.

Liberty ranks higher on the scale of political ideals than equality, but observance of the laws is superior to both.

Unrestrained majority rule is the parent of despotism, injustice, and ultimately social chaos.

Power must be economically, socially (in terms of classes), geographically, and politically diffused, if the necessary requisites for the good community are to be met.

Society, the state, and government stem from man's associative instincts, hence they are Divine in origin.

The ideal state and society possess an organic character, comparable to that of a family. They are complementary to one another and both are required for the good life.

The grand complex made of society, the state, and government constitute a nation which is a moral person, a "brotherhood" of "all the dead, living, and . . . unborn, one for action, one for suffering, one for responsibility. . . ."²⁷

Government is not a necessary evil, but a positive blessing.

27. Brown, *Works of Rufus Choate*, I, 417, 418.

Since God ordained it as an instrument of human progress, it has many indispensable functions to perform.

Constitutionalism, authority, a diffusion of power, proportion, balance, and justice typify the best government (usually a republic).

The chief traits of the good society are unity, stability, security, diversity, and equity.

Patriotism, intelligence, a love of both security and liberty, and the performance of duty are the basic characteristics of the good citizen.

The state and society must undergo change, but within America's republican polity, it must take place without menacing the existing order or rejecting traditional values and procedures, if progress, not retrogression, is to be achieved.

Universal and more especially national history are legitimate sources of human inspiration. They constitute a "true guide to life."²⁸

These precepts represent a well-rounded restatement of those basic principles which lie at the heart of the Anglo-American conservative tradition. As such, they place Choate squarely in the company of Burke, the Adamses, Peel, Wordsworth, Disraeli, and Hawthorne. This in itself is sufficient reason for a greater appreciation of Choate by those interested in this particular cultural legacy.

Yet for the student of America's overall political tradition, his theory of the state should stand out as a unique feat of creative intellectual achievement. Even in its negative aspects it possesses a transcending significance, in that he formulated the doctrine in an attempt to counteract the mechanistic views of the Jacksonians, the contractual secessionism of the slavocrats, and the general anti-statist attitude of the anti-slavery radicals. To put it another way, Choate enunciated the theory in the hope of effectively combatting the divergent facets of Lockeanism which had risen during his lifetime to menace the American state. Its positive features make it even more interesting, for the precept represents a blending of Aristotle's organic interpretation of the state with Burke's historic and mystical sense of communalism. To this, Choate added his own romantic views concerning nationality, and the result was a theory that places him among the earliest organic-nationalist theorists in the history of American political thought.

28. Brown, *Life of Rufus Choate*, p. 363.

This distinction makes him a forerunner of John W. Burgess, J. N. Pomeroy, Elisha Mulford, and the whole group of post-Civil War thinkers who rejected the contract theory of the state and found the nation-state to be a moral organism which had been produced by a natural political evolution.²⁹ If for no other reasons, this should earn for him a recognized place in the development of American political ideas.

In the final analysis, it cannot be claimed that Choate was a towering figure in American thought or history. Still it does no injustice to the truth to conclude that he was an interesting, even fascinating representative of "Old Whiggery," who deserves greater recognition than that which has been accorded him until now.

29. Alan P. Grimes, *American Political Thought* (New York, 1955), pp. 280-286.

JACOB KIMBALL, A PIONEER AMERICAN MUSICIAN

By GLENN C. WILCOX

IN 1634, ENGLAND WAS IN TURMOIL. Charles I (1625-1649) had issued a writ extending the ship-money tax to the entire country, whereas previously it had been levied only on seacoast towns. This was another breach between the Crown and the People leading to the impending Civil War. By his actions, Charles had abrogated the Petition of Right, granted only six years earlier; he was ruling without Parliament, having dissolved it in 1629; but, worst of all, he was resorting to many old feudal practices which were in direct contrast to the recent constitutional gains of the English people.

For many Englishmen, there was only one bright light in the gloom: the New World, shining with freedom and opportunity. It seemed that there still remained a few places where a man might be free—free to worship as his God dictated and free from the oppressions of a despotic King, yet still free to swear allegiance to the Crown worn by that King.

It must have been with some of these thoughts in his mind that Richard Kimball (1595?-1675), wheelwright, decided to leave England and travel to the American colonies. In April, 1634, he and his family sailed aboard the good ship *Elizabeth*, under command of Master William Andrews. They arrived at Boston Harbor and proceeded to Watertown, where they took up residence. The Kimballs seem to have found Massachusetts a congenial atmosphere, as most of them—indeed, all of them in the direct line to the musician Jacob—lived and died on or near the Massachusetts Bay.¹

Jacob Kimball, father of the composer, was a blacksmith by trade, yet he was a man of some cultural inclinations, and was a substantial citizen of Topsfield, where he settled in 1755. He, not his son, was chosen March 13, 1764, by the Topsfield church, with Moses Perkins, “to set y^e Psalm, Also voted y^t y^e s^d Perkins and Kimball sit in y^e elders seat.”² In 1794, he also was a mem-

1. See the genealogical chart for identification of the Kimballs.

2. *Topsfield Historical Collections* (Topsfield, Mass., 1895—), (hereinafter THC) XIV; 53, corrects the error begun by George Hood, *A History of Music in New England* (Boston, 1846), p. 182, attributing this to Jacob, Jr.

ber of the constitutional committee of the Topsfield Library Society. Another indication of his interest in the "finer things in life" is shown by the fact that, of his four sons to reach adulthood, he sent two of them, the first Benjamin and Jacob, to Harvard.³

He became active in community and church affairs, being chosen at various times as a Tything-Man [*sic*], town warden, jurymen, grand juror, constable, selectman, and church clerk. In addition, he served on committees for supplying "y^e town [with a] gramer [*sic*] school master" on more than one occasion, and for choosing a new preacher when necessary.⁴

It was into a home such as this that Jacob, Jr., was born February 15, 1761, the third of ten children of Jacob and Priscilla Smith Kimball. Varying dates are given for his birth, the most consistent being February 22, but this actually was the date of his baptism.

Nothing more is known of young Jacob until 1775. In that year, his father was a sergeant in the First Topsfield Company which marched from Topsfield to the Battle of Lexington "in consequence of y^e alarm on y^e 19 April, 1775."⁵ The Private Benjamin Kimball of this company was probably young Jacob's older brother, although there is some question as to his real identity. There is no doubt that Benjamin was a corporal in the Topsfield Third, in which young Jacob was a fifer-drummer.⁶

The Topsfield Third was at the Battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775. Unaccountably, the company was delayed in arriving at the scene, but it fought an apparently heroic rear-guard action in defense of the other American troops as they retreated. So, father and two sons, the Kimballs saw action in two of the most famous battles of the War for Independence.

Chronologically, the next biographical entry is in 1776, on August 8-9, and again September 13 and 25, when Harvard College examined its entering freshmen, among whom was young

3. It seems to have been common practice in this era to give to a second sibling the same given name as a deceased child. In this family there are thus two Benjamins. See the genealogical chart.

4. George F. Dow (comp.), *Town Records of Topsfield, Massachusetts* (Topsfield, 1917-1920), II, 236 *et passim*.

5. THC, I, 10.

6. THC, XXVIII, 101f.

Jacob.⁷ Ephraim Eliot wrote of Jacob that he was "an excellent scholar, [who] at entrance had gone through all the exercises of a freshman before under Master Moody—time being on hand and having nothing to employ him."⁸

Jacob seems to have been a "typical" college student. Of the sixteen quarters he was in residence, he was punished by fine in exactly half of them for infractions of college rules. Only one of these is noted; it was being absent without permission for six consecutive nights, beginning May 13, 1778.⁹

For unknown reasons, Jacob was excused from commons nine times during the four years. It very well may have been on economic reasons that he petitioned to be excused, for it is apparent, in examining records of the time, that the economic situation, not only for the students, but for the entire nation, was becoming more and more critical.¹⁰ One needs only to examine the cost of Kimball's stay at Harvard to discover how inflation had affected the economy. This table illustrates:¹¹

<i>School year</i>	<i>Cost to Kimball</i>
1776-1777	£ 24. 1.9.2
1777-1778	57.18.5.3
1778-1779	294. 0.8.2
1779-1780	853. 1.2.0
<hr/>	
Four-year total:	£1229. 2.1.3

7. Harvard College, Faculty Records, (Harvard College Archives), IV, 37.

8. This excerpt is from a class book of Mr. Eliot, in which he noted his impressions of his fellow classmen, i.e., the Class of 1780. The book was found, and given to Harvard at a later time, by J. F. Eliot, a descendant of Ephraim. The quotation is now to be found entered under Jacob Kimball, Class of 1780, Quinquennial Folder, (Harvard College Archives). Moody was the famed master of Governor Dummer Academy in South Byfield.

9. Harvard College, Faculty Records, IV, 58 *et passim*.

10. The infant government of the rebellious colonies already was beginning to feel the economic pinch of war. In 1780, the first of three specie requisitions, totalling nearly \$11,000,000, was levied upon the states, as was a quota to be met in flour, pork, and hay, for support of the war. And, between June, 1775, and November, 1779, Congress authorized the issuance of just under \$250,000,000 in paper money, which by the spring of 1781 had become worthless—"not worth a Continental!"

11. This information is adapted from Harvard College, President, Professors' and Tutors' Book No. IV, 1770-1784, Quarter-Bill Records. These costs seemingly include tuition, fees, board and room, and fines. The amount is approximately \$4100, based on the then current exchange rate.

A study of these figures will show that less than two per cent of the total cost was spent by Kimball in his first year at Harvard, while a staggering seventy per cent of the total was spent the last year! Such enormous change undoubtedly was a basis for a May, 1780, petition, signed by the entire graduating class, requesting that there be no public commencement.¹² The basic argument for such a request was the economic situation. The Board of Overseers of Harvard honored the petition, and, as a matter of fact, no public commencements were held from 1774 through 1780. Another indication of the problems which may have plagued Kimball is that, on at least one occasion, he was five months behind in his payment of school bills.¹³

One of the privileges accorded only to upperclassmen at this time was the use of the library. Kimball's eligibility thus began in the fall of 1778, as he entered his third year, and he gained access to perhaps the best library in this country at that time.

Not only was Kimball acquainted, through their writings, with some of the leading authors of the period, but also he was under the tutelage of some of America's most distinguished men. One of these was William Bentley, who was to become a renowned preacher in New England. Bentley was a 1777 graduate of Harvard, and began tutoring there in 1780. So, in all probability, Jacob knew him both as a fellow student and as a tutor. Their first meeting was perhaps in 1774, when Bentley and Jacob Herrick, also of the Class of 1777, went to Topsfield "to see our Class-mates Kimball and Wilds at that place."¹⁴ As Jacob was not then in Harvard, and as he was the first Kimball from Topsfield to be graduated from there, this reference is probably to his older brother Benjamin (1757-1775), who was in school there at the time of his death. Bentley and Jacob were together rather frequently, as will be seen later.

Another of these men was James Bowdoin, a 1745 graduate of Harvard, who became a Fellow of the Corporation in 1779. His originality and independence of thought are evident in his work on the nature of light and electricity, the areas in which he con-

12. Harvard College, Class of 1780, Petition.

13. Harvard College, Papers, Vol. II Supplement, p. 29, on April 9, 1779, lists Kimball as being in arrears £44.4.3 for the second quarter, which ended November 27, 1778. The entire sum for that quarter was £46.9.4.

14. William Bentley, *Diary* (Salem, 1905-1914), IV, 522.

centrated his efforts. Bowdoin was a charter member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and became its first president in 1780. He also was President of the Constitutional Convention of Massachusetts and Governor of the state.

Samuel Cooper, a Fellow from 1767 to 1783, and a graduate in the Class of 1743, was interested mainly in the field of politics. He was, however, sufficiently interested in "natural philosophy" to be elected Vice-President of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

The member of the Corporation who probably was most influential on Kimball was John Winthrop, descendant and namesake of the first governor of Massachusetts. He occupied the chair of Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy from 1738 until his death in 1779. Not only was his influence felt directly by his classes, but also, in the case of Kimball, it was felt indirectly through the above-named men, all of whom had studied under Winthrop. Winthrop was not a limited man: he experimented in and taught astronomy, geology, seismology, mathematics (he introduced the calculus to Harvard), chemistry, and electricity.

In addition to studying the Physical Sciences and Mathematics, Kimball was taught French by one M. Vandale, otherwise unidentified; Hebrew, and probably Latin and Greek, by Stephen Sewall, Hancock Professor of Hebrew and Other Oriental Languages, 1764-1795; and Theology by Edward Wigglesworth, Hollis Professor of Divinity, 1765-1794. Although other prescribed courses are unknown, it seems reasonable to assume, from examination of the Library Loan Lists, that Kimball received instruction in History and Geography, Philosophy (probably in Esthetics and Morals), and Literature.

Thus the shape of the intellectual Jacob Kimball begins to form. He was a man well grounded in the arts and sciences, and had received from some very capable and qualified men the best formal education available in this country at that time.

The four years at Harvard are documented better than any other period in Kimball's life, but here consecutive documentation ends. Kimball certainly must be classified as one of those early American musicians of whom O. G. T. Sonneck said, "It is peculiar how suddenly . . . they appear on the horizon and

disappear again leaving either no clue . . . or allowing the inquisitive biographer only momentary glimpses into the different periods of their life or again leaving no trace behind them."¹⁵

After his graduation, Kimball taught school upon occasion, beginning at the Ipswich grammar school October 18, 1781, and teaching there until 1783.¹⁶ In Topsfield, Jacob Kimball taught school in the years 1792-1794, 1797, 1799, 1804, 1809, 1811, 1813, and 1814.¹⁷ In addition to teaching public schools, Kimball also conducted singing schools in various New England towns. In 1797 William Bentley noted that it had been "a few years since . . . Mr. Kimball . . . taught [music] in Marblehead."¹⁸ At the American Antiquarian Society, the Folder on Jacob Kimball says that he kept a singing school at Danvers in 1800.¹⁹ Whether or not Kimball taught singing in other towns remains conjectural, as far as documentation is concerned.²⁰ John W. Moore, in a letter dated September 17, 1876, said that Kimball "wrote quite a number of tunes, some of which were named for the towns where he had schools."²¹ Because there is no better hypothesis as to how Kimball's tunes got their names, this suggestion must remain a possibility.²²

One other located item might be relevant. In *The Boston Directory* for 1789, there is listed one John [sic] Kimball, singing master whose address was Hanover Street.²³ As no other person sur-

15. O. G. T. Sonneck, *Early Concert-Life in America* (Leipzig, 1907), p. 264.

16. Joseph B. Felt, *History of Ipswich, Essex, and Hamilton* (Cambridge, Mass., 1834), p. 86.

17. THC, XII, 96h [sic], and G. F. Dow, *History of Topsfield* (Topsfield, Mass., 1940), p. 303f.

18. Bentley, *op. cit.*, II, 246, November 21, 1797.

19. This is stated without documentation, as is all the information contained in this folder. No substantiation could be furnished the writer when he visited the library August 8, 1955.

20. The biography of Kimball in THC, XII, 96h, says without documentation that he taught singing schools in many towns in Essex County. This article, apparently written c. 1900, is not entirely accurate.

Esq., which is preserved in Correspondence of John L. Sibley, XVII, 37 (1876-1877), in the Harvard Archives. How Mr. Sibley obtained possession of it is unknown.

21. This information is contained in a letter to Samuel A. Green,

22. Frank W. Metcalf, *American Writers and Compilers of Sacred Music* (New York, 1925), p. 111, also says that Kimball taught in various New England towns. He provides no documentation.

23. John Norman, *The Boston Directory* (n. pub.), 1789, quoted by O. G. T. Sonneck in his *Manuscript Notebooks*. This was the only mention of any Kimball, exclusive of publication announcements, which Sonneck found in his perusal of many early periodicals.

named Kimball has been identified from this era as being musically inclined, it would seem reasonable to assume that John is an editorial error.

In addition to being a teacher, Kimball apparently was a good performer. On April 6, 1787, he was among the singers at the Good Friday services of the Marblehead Church.²⁴ October 20, 1792, Kimball and Samuel Holyoke led the choir at a funeral in Middleton.²⁵ Bentley apparently recognized Kimball's talents, for on December 9, 1795, he wrote: "Mr. Kimball gave me some encouragement that he would visit me, and spend one evening with my singers."²⁶ Presumably he was referring to the singers at East Church, Salem, where he was minister. On October 10, 1806, Bentley wrote:

Yesterday afternoon was the Musical Exhibition of Mr. [Samuel] Holyoke in the New South Meeting House The Salem Band performed the principal parts. Many performers from friendship stepped in. Mr. Kimball, who has less skill in composition, but better talents in execution than Holyoke was urged to assist.²⁷

Also in 1806, under the entry for November 20, Bentley said:

I went to Danvers at the opening of their New Brick House of Worship. . . . The Singers were numerous & Kimball from Topsfield was on the tenor, and Farrington of Andover on the bass.²⁸

Christmas Day, 1817, the entry in Bentley's *Diary* reads:

We had a rainy day and bad walking, but in the evening we had our Oratorio from the Salem Handel Society. . . . Mr. Kimball from Topsfield was with them. The principal parts from Handel [were sung].²⁹

Bentley speaks of Kimball a few more times in his *Diary*. On Sunday, May 3, 1801, he wrote to a correspondent the "outline of a long history . . . of our Psalmody," in which he included

24. Bentley, *op. cit.*, I, 58. Kimball is named as one of "the best masters" of music.

25. *Ibid.*, I, 402. Both men here are classified as "famous makers of music."

26. *Ibid.*, II, 168.

27. *Ibid.*, III, 253.

28. *Ibid.*, III, 262.

29. *Ibid.*, IV, 492.

mention of Holyoke, Kimball, and Holden, in that order.³⁰ Sunday, November 20, 1803, he commented that "several books on Church Music with Tunes have been lately published. . . . The most popular books are *Village Harmony* [italics inserted], 8th ed. [sic], late ed. of *Worcester Collection* [italics inserted], beside such as Kimball, Holden & Holyoke have published."³¹ June 20, 1810, Bentley went on an outing in Ipswich and remained for the evening "at the new house of Young Dr. Manning." Kimball and others are named as being part of the group.³²

Bentley's remaining entry is December 7, 1795:

Left Salem to visit Andover. . . . I took the route of Topsfield . . . Found Mr. Kimball, the celebrated Musician, at his father's. It is his purpose to establish himself in the Law in Maine.³³

It is a matter of conjecture whether or not Kimball did "establish himself in the Law" in Maine or anywhere else. Massachusetts, as well as Maine, is claimed as a location where he practiced;³⁴ many references say that he was admitted to the bar in Strafford County, New Hampshire;³⁵ still others say that he was a lawyer, or that he studied law, or some variant thereof.³⁶ Some of these references say that Kimball studied law with Judge William Wetmore of Salem. These non-primary sources furnish the only information on this subject. There is no source material which corroborates these statements.³⁷ Ordinarily, the absence of docu-

30. *Ibid.*, II, 371.

31. *Ibid.*, III, 61. The title page of the 8th edition of the *Village Harmony* gives 1808 as the date of publication.

32. *Ibid.*, III, 524.

33. *Ibid.*, II, 167.

34. American Antiquarian Society, again without documentation.

35. Principal among these are Charles H. Bell, *The Bench and Bar of New Hampshire* (Boston, 1894), p. 473; Simon Pease Cheney, *The American Singing Book* (Boston, 1879), p. 177; THC, XII, 96h; and *Salem Gazette*, August 1, 1826, in Kimball's obituary.

36. Nathaniel D. Gould, *History of Church Music in America* (Boston, 1853), p. 63f; Nehemiah Cleaveland, *An Address, Delivered at Topsfield in Massachusetts, August 28, 1850; The two hundredth Anniversary of the Incorporation of the Town* (New York, 1851), p. 49f; the letter of John Moore to Samuel A. Green, preserved in Sibley, *Correspondence*; Janet M. Green (comp.) and W. L. Hubbard (ed.), *American History and Encyclopedia of Music and Musical Biography* (London, 1908), V, 430; Louis C. Elson, *The History of American Music* (New York, 1925), p. 21; and F. L. Ritter, *Music in America* (New York, 1890), p. 70.

37. The following all were examined, and were completely negative in results: Dawes Markwell (comp.), "William Wetmore. His notes in

mentation in source material would tend to negate evidence, regardless of its abundance, found only in non-primary material. However, in this instance, three items are seemingly of especial importance. The first of these is an address by Nehemiah Cleaveland.³⁸ He lived contemporaneously with Kimball, in the same town, and there is every reason to believe that they were acquainted. Conversely, there is no valid reason to believe that he was telling other than the truth when he said that Kimball, "having graduated at Harvard College . . . studied law, and commenced the practice [of it]." Mr. Cleaveland continues by saying that as Kimball had "no appetite for the dry details of law and business, he soon abandoned his profession and became a schoolmaster and music teacher."

The second item is an unidentified newspaper clipping, with "1878" pencilled across its top.³⁹ To quote it in part:

Mr. Kimball was a graduate of Harvard College in 1780, was in practice at the Court of Common Pleas at Rindge [New Hampshire] as early as 1797, and was there in 1800. He studied law with the late Judge Wetmore, of Salem, and was admitted to the bar in Strafford County in 1795. . . . He did not remain long in New Hampshire.

The last of these three items is the most important, even though its initialed author remains unidentified. It is a newspaper article printed after the 1850 celebration of Topsfield's two-hundredth birthday and refers to that celebration. In the portion which has immediate significance, we read that "after completing a course of law studies, he was admitted to the bar and pleaded at least one case; but he relinquished the pursuit of the law, and devoted himself almost exclusively to the study and composition of music."⁴⁰

various almanacks 1782-1799" (Typescript, 1930); all available New Hampshire Court Records, 1792-1801; Rindge Manuscript Collections; Ezra S. Stearns, *History of Rindge, New Hampshire* (Boston, 1875); *Almanacks and Registers* (Printed and Sold by T. & S. Fleet, Boston annually; editions examined: 1784-1801).

38. Cleaveland, *Address*. Subsequent references refer also to this.

39. This clipping is in the file of Kimball Family Papers at the Essex Institute. There is no indication of its source, and a search for it in Salem papers proved unsuccessful.

40. The article in this clipping is signed "S. N. Y." It is preserved in manuscript notes of George F. Dow, but there are no clues as to the exact date of printing or the paper in which it appeared; likewise identification of the author has been impossible.

These statements in themselves are no different from similar ones in other references. But they assume added significance when it is realized that only these two latter articles mention the long-forgotten volume of manuscript music brought to light by this writer. They also are thoroughly accurate in all other information which can be verified that they present.

At the present time it seems impossible to state, with certainty, whether or not Kimball did practice law. Reasonably incontrovertible evidence, such as that of the three examples just cited, indicates that he did. Also unquestionable, albeit negative in approach, is the great amount of source material examined, all of which has a conspicuous absence of evidence substantiating Kimball's career as a lawyer. It would seem that a future, perhaps random, discovery is needed to resolve this disparity.

The remaining few documented references to Kimball's life may be briefly recounted. In 1799, and again in 1804, he borrowed an unidentified book from the Topsfield Library, and paid 6d each time.⁴¹

During part of 1805 and 1806, Kimball was in Topsfield. This is shown by the purchases he made at a general store, recorded in a book of credit.⁴² These purchases, including some wine and rum, introduce the subject of his being a drunkard. As is true with the question of his being a lawyer, evidence here is contradictory. Nehemiah Cleaveland said of Kimball that

. . . he was convivial, and sprightly, and a fine singer. These attractions made him popular. He was drawn into the vortex of social amusement, and alas! of social indulgence also. . . . Those frailties, which sullied, and perhaps shortened a career, that might have been so bright, cannot, even now, be recalled without a sigh.

How much of Mr. Cleaveland's remarks must be considered embellishment for the benefit of his audience cannot be said. Perhaps none; certainly he had good intentions, and, presumably, knowledge upon which to base his statements.

Ephraim Eliot said that "he fell a sacrifice to a parcel of un-

41. Topsfield Library Loan Lists, March 25, 1799, and May 28, 1804.

42. An Account Ledger of 1805-1806, belonging to a merchant of Topsfield (William Conant?), which lists many purchases of the Kimball family.

principled gamblers, who ruined him. . . . he became a dissipated sot."⁴³

One other reference, less reliable than those just quoted, says that Kimball's "love for music caused him in time to neglect permanent or profitable employment, and a lack of control in the use of ardent spirits, so common in those days, finally brought him to the almshouse in Topsfield, where he died."⁴⁴

No other primary sources give any information regarding either the possibility of Kimball's having been a drunkard or of his death in the Topsfield almshouse. Many of the secondary sources do give this information. However, in the absence of contrary, or even negative, evidence, and as at least three of these quoted are valid primary sources, it would seem that Kimball did dissipate. That he died in the almshouse might be more conjectural, as no other primary sources make such a claim, and verification of the conditions surrounding his death was impossible in the Town Records of Topsfield.⁴⁵

The fact that documentation cannot be furnished to prove or disprove that Kimball was a lawyer, that he was a drunkard, or that he died a pauper—this fact helps prove Sonneck's contention that these men allow us only "momentary glimpses" into their lives.⁴⁶

Such is Jacob Kimball, the man, in his everyday life, as much as is known about him. In many ways, Jacob Kimball, the artist, is less enigmatic than is the man. Of course, lacking such current wonders as visual and audible reproductions, we must rely on accounts by his contemporaries for evidence of Kimball's teaching and performing abilities. These have been examined, and attest to his competence. In the third field of his musical endeavors, that of composition, we may make a presumably more valid judgment, by examination of his works through the objectivity of time.

Examined in this way, Kimball emerges as a highly skilled,

43. Eliot, Class Book. In the light of this statement about gamblers, one might conjure up an interesting hypothesis as to how Kimball obtained the funds necessary to pay the inflated expenses during his stay at Harvard!

44. THC, XII, 96h. As has been noted earlier, this is not entirely reliable.

45. In Dow, *Town Records*, there is no mention of this claim.

46. Sonneck, *Concert-Life*, p. 264.

extremely competent craftsman. Kimball, Samuel Holyoke, and Oliver Holden were the only three natives at that time who composed in an orthodox idiom, and were the first to combine the indigenous musical idiom with an adequate musical education. The only apparent common factor in their lives was one Hans Gram, a Danish or north German immigrant, with whom all three are known to have been associated. Gram was an accomplished musician (he was organist at the Brattle Street Church in Boston for some time) and was a teacher and composer. The only logical conclusion is that the three men studied with Gram, and that this was the unifying factor which distinguishes their music from that of their contemporaries.⁴⁷

Of the three, Kimball seems to have been the most abundantly endowed with what is commonly called "native" musical ability. He was not so prolific as were these two, or others of his contemporaries, but, on the whole, his works were of a quality superior to theirs. That his works were different Kimball himself recognized, for in the Preface to his *Rural Harmony*, published in 1793, he said, speaking of himself:

He has aimed at originality in his compositions, and endeavoured to deviate (as far as he deemed it justifiable) from the common style; where he has given into [sic] it, he has attempted to improve it by a particular attention to the harmony.

He further stated, in the "MISCELLANEOUS OBSERVATIONS" section of the theoretical introduction:

In good music, as well as in good poetry, or in any other species of good writing, there are different styles; some of which, though they may not, at first hearing, command a very favourable opinion, upon being often performed, and rendered familiar, will please more, and longer, than others which were thought superior; hence the impropriety and injustice of hastily rejecting, as worthless and insignificant, such music as may be composed out of the common style.

47. Allen P. Britton, "Theoretical Introductions in American Tune-Books to 1800" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Michigan, 1950), p. 163, and J. Lawrence Willhide, "Samuel Holyoke: American Musical Educator" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Southern California, 1954), p. 117, say that these three men were students of Gram. The only other evidence found by this writer was in a collection of Manuscript Notes and Papers of William Arms Fisher, now on deposit in the library of Boston University. This lacked documentation.

That Kimball did compose out of the "common style" is apparent from analysis of his works. The common style of the time was the fuge-tune, particularly as conceived by William Billings.⁴⁸ Kimball composed few fuge-tunes; these few were conspicuously different because of their harmonic and melodic treatments, and particularly so because of their affective qualities.

The *Rural Harmony* contains Psalm- and hymn-tunes and anthems in three and four parts, preceded by a theoretical introduction, and is an oblong quarto, containing one hundred twelve pages. It was "PRINTED, Typographically, at BOSTON, BY ISAIAH THOMAS and EBENEZER T. ANDREWS."⁴⁹

In the *Rural Harmony*, the "INTRODUCTION to the ART of SINGING" (a part of the theoretical introduction) is good. Its source is unknown, but it is essentially a slightly edited version of the introduction which Holyoke used in his *Harmonia Americana* (1791). It also is the same basic introduction found in the *Village Harmony*, discussed below, with which Kimball may be linked.⁵⁰ This theoretical introduction seems to have been a product of the associations of Kimball, Holyoke, Holden, and Gram, whether singly or jointly produced.⁵¹ With but few changes, and these mostly of nomenclature for the benefit of the present-day reader, this introduction would be valid and profitable for use in instruction today.

The import of the *Rural Harmony* is difficult to ascertain. It must have enjoyed a modicum of success, otherwise Kimball would have been unable to follow it with his extremely popular *Essex Harmony*, printed in 1800.⁵² This was exactly the same size as the *Rural Harmony*, containing more music and less introduction, but, unlike its predecessor, it was not printed in Massachusetts; rather, it came "from the Music-Press of H[enry] Ranlet, Exeter, [New Hampshire]." However, Thomas Cushing, one of the lead-

48. The spelling "fuge" refers to the type of tune widely published in the United States during this period. It has no relationship, in either form or content, to the classical "fugue."

49. See the table of Known Locations of the *Rural Harmony*, p. 377.

50. See Britton, "Theoretical Introductions," p. 157 *et passim*, for a complete discussion of this.

51. Chronologically, the idea of joint effort is feasible. The exact time of Gram's arrival here is unknown, but he was here by 1789, two years before the *Harmonia Americana*, and four years before he is generally thought to have arrived. This is evidenced in various places in Sonneck's Manuscript Notebooks.

52. See the table of Known Locations of the *Essex Harmony*, p. 378.

ing citizens of Massachusetts, apparently was an important factor in the publication of the *Essex Harmony*, as attested by the following letter addressed to Kimball:⁵³

Salem, September 16, 1800

Sir:

It is concluded to have the Music called "The Essex Harmony." Will thank you to write a Title Page, introducing some poetical motto. Also, a few lines by way of preface, about as much as in your *Rural Harmony*, saying something about the progress of music among us, & the formation of a musical society in this county.

You must be ready with some more tunes of your own composition, to make out to us as much original music as is contained in your *R. Harmony*, in case this falls short.

I beg you to transmit what I want by next Saturday—sooner if you can, because I must send it on to Ranlet on Monday, who is now waiting for it.

Your humble Servt.

T. C. Cushing

Kimball obviously responded to the letter. It seems, however, that he did not furnish enough music to make the volume its desired size, for two tunes by Holyoke were inserted, although the stated intent was to have the volume composed completely by Kimball.⁵⁴

Potentially, there were several reasons for Kimball to publish the *Essex Harmony*. In all probability he was encouraged by the reception accorded his *Rural Harmony*. Also, being renowned as a teacher and performer, he probably felt the need for another work containing music composed out of the "common style." There was a third, more concrete reason, which, upon the suggestion of Cushing, Kimball described in his own words in the

DEDICATION

To the Essex Musical Association, founded in 1797,

53. This letter is now in the Autograph Collection of the Essex Institute.

54. This letter should prove conclusively that Holyoke was not co-editor with Kimball, as is stated in many places, among them Waldo S. Pratt, ed., *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, American Supplement* (New York, 1947), p. 387; the Library of Congress Catalog of Printed Cards, LXXX (1944), 359; and Clifford K. Shipton, *The American Bibliography of Charles Evans* (Worcester, Mass., 1955), XIII, #37732.

The following Work is inscribed: with an ardent wish that it may contribute, in some small degree, towards furthering the object of the Society; the ameliorating and refining the Taste for Music in this Country; and that it may have a tendency to increase innocent amusement, as well as to exalt the feeling in public devotion, by their humble servant.

THE AUTHOR,

Topsfield, Oct. 1800

The Essex Musical Association was founded March 28, 1797, in Salem.⁵⁵ It was composed of many of the leading citizens of Essex County, and the meetings were designed to improve the quality of sacred music in this country, as well as furnish "innocent amusement."⁵⁶ This organization, although barely remembered now, was a flourishing and important adjunct to the growth of American hymnody. Evidence may be seen in the fact that two indigenous music books, both broader in scope than anything previously published, were dedicated to the Essex Musical Association. These two books were Holyoke's *Columbian Repository*, outstanding in the sheer magnitude of the undertaking, and the *Essex Harmony* of Kimball.⁵⁷ A contributing factor to Kimball's dedication of the *Essex Harmony* is the fact that he was a member of the Association, although not one of the charter members.⁵⁸

The *Essex Harmony* apparently was well received by the members of the Essex Musical Association, as evidenced by the fact that in 1802, the *Essex Harmony, Part II*, was published. This book has been attributed to Kimball and Holyoke, separately and jointly, due primarily to the ambiguity of the title-page.⁵⁹ It seems

55. *The Constitution of the Essex Musical Association* (Newburyport, Mass., 1798), title page.

56. At the annual meeting and concert of the Essex Musical Association it was common practice to have a sermon delivered by a leading minister of Essex County. The objectives of the society are nowhere more aptly put than in the sermon delivered by Leonard Woods, *A Discourse on Sacred Music Delivered Before the Essex Musical Association at Their Annual Meeting, 1804* (Salem, 1804).

57. Samuel Holyoke, *The Columbian Repository of Sacred Harmony* (Exeter, N. H., 1802?). See Willhide, "Holyoke," p. 180 *et passim* for a thorough discussion of this volume.

58. This is shown by the fact that he signed the "List of Subscribers" in the *Columbian Repository* as one of the members of the Essex Musical Association, but is not among the charter members listed in the Association's *Constitution*.

59. THE ESSEX HARMONY / PART II / CONSISTING OF ORIGINAL PIECES BY KIMBALL, HOLYOKE AND OTHERS.

that the title-page purposely may have been composed as it was, in order to capitalize on the then current popularity of both Kimball and Holyoke. In actuality, the book was a compilation by Joshua Cushing, publisher and amateur musician of Salem.⁶⁰ Of the more than thirty-five composers represented in the collection, Madan, with six compositions, and Kimball, with five listed in the index, are represented more than any other composers. Handel and Giardini each have four, and Holyoke has three.

Although the theoretical introduction in the *Essex Harmony* is similar to the one in the *Rural Harmony*, it is not a simple re-writing of the old material, but actually approaches the topics from an entirely different point of view. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that this volume was dedicated to the Essex Musical Association, an organization which Kimball knew to be composed of musicians, some of them professionals—if the word may be applied to any of that time—while all of them were above average. Apparently, then, expecting the book to be used mainly by the Association, Kimball omitted the more basic considerations which he had included in his earlier work, and also wrote, this time, for a musically more mature mind.

There is little to distinguish the music of the *Essex Harmony* from the music of the *Rural Harmony*. Aside from an increase in the adroitness with which he handles his voice leadings and harmonies, the most important difference seems to be Kimball's increased awareness of the expressiveness which can be written into a composition. No single composition in the *Essex Harmony* approaches, individually, the greatness of such tunes as "Invitation" and "Woburn" in the *Rural Harmony*. Collectively, however, the *Essex Harmony* is the work of a more mature musician than is the *Rural Harmony*.

In the course of investigating Kimball, this writer has pointed up the significance of a bound volume of manuscript music composed, notated, and signed by Kimball located at the Essex Institute. This volume is dated May 26, 1808, at Malden, Massa-

60. Cushing was issued a copyright December 25, 1802. *Grove's American Supplement*, p. 286, confuses this with Daniel Bayley's *Essex Harmony* published in Newburyport between 1770 and c. 1785. There was another unrelated *Essex Harmony* published in London in 1777 by John Arnold.

chusetts.⁶¹ It contains sixty-six compositions, only two of them listed previously.

There is only one known printed reference to the Manuscript Volume. It is found in the newspaper article, signed "S. N. Y.," mentioned above.⁶² Where the author of the article obtained his information cannot be ascertained. And, even though he possessed the article, Mr. Dow apparently had no personal knowledge of the Manuscript Volume, as there is no mention of it in any of his writings about Kimball or Topsfield. In a letter to this author dated September 28, 1955, Miss Esther Usher stated that the Essex Institute had no record of the acquisition of Kimball's manuscript.

Adding to the mystery, one may wonder why it never was published. The most probable reason is that, by 1808, the works of foreign composers were becoming very popular, and Kimball neither could finance it himself nor find anyone to back its publication. Like his two published volumes, this work shows Kimball to have been a highly gifted man, capable in every way of handling skillfully the tools of his trade. It is the product of a mind extremely fertile in imagination, as can be seen from the many devices and techniques used. But these devices are used, not as a rough apprentice would handle them, but rather as a skilled artisan—a man thoroughly conversant with his art and its techniques—would use them.

The *Rural Harmony*, *Essex Harmony*, *Essex Harmony, Part II*, and the Manuscript Volume contain all of Kimball's known music. There are no indications of additional compositions in any source.

The only other work of Kimball now known is his own poetic version of the sixty-fifth Psalm, as published in Belknap's collection.⁶³ If judgment may be made on the basis of this one Psalm, Kimball was a poet above mediocrity. In some respects this is

61. Why Kimball was at Malden remains undetermined. His tune "Malden" was published some fifteen years earlier in the *Rural Harmony*.

62. It is this article, completely accurate in everything which has been documented, which cannot be overlooked when discussing Kimball's law training. As it is the only source mentioning the Manuscript Volume, and is unquestionably accurate concerning it, it must be considered accurate in discussing Kimball as a lawyer.

63. Jeremy Belknap, D. D., *Sacred Poetry* (Boston, MDGCXCV [sic]), p. 100f.

superior to many of the versifications by Watts and the Wesleys. Had Belknap not thought it of a superior quality, it seems doubtful that he would have used it in his eclectic work, "selected from the best authors." In his collection, there are three other versions of the same Psalm; one by Tate, two by Watts. Kimball set the first verse of his version to his tune "Stoneham."

It is said that Kimball wrote many hymns and set some of them to music.⁶⁴ It also is claimed that he made occasional contributions in both prose and poetry to various periodicals.⁶⁵ The most tantalizing claim made is that, at his death, he had completed a volume of poetry, intending it for publication.⁶⁶

Circumstantial evidence partially supports these claims. For several of the hymn texts used by Kimball no source can be found. Thus, knowing that he did write poetry, it seems reasonable to assign to his authorship many, if not all, of the hymns for which no other author can be found. In addition, it would seem that his obituary notice, written within a week after his death on July 24, 1826, would be accurate. However, no literary contributions by Kimball were found in any of the numerous publications which were examined. Assuming the article is true, and likewise that this writer's search was inclusive, it must be concluded that any such contributions were made either anonymously or under a *nom de plume*. This latter device must be considered quite probable, as literary contribution over a pseudonym was then in vogue.⁶⁷ No evidence of any kind other than the single clipping was found substantiating the claim that Kimball wrote a volume of poetry.

There remains to be discussed Kimball's possible association with the *Village Harmony*, one of the most popular tune-books of

64. Bell, *Bench and Bar*, p. 473; Cheney, *American Singing Book*, p. 177; Metcalf, *American Writers*, p. 111; and THC, XII, 96h, all say that Kimball wrote poetry (in some quantity) and contributed to Belknap's collection, which Ritter, *Music in America*, p. 70, mistakenly calls Billings' collection. Metcalf also claims he set some of these hymns to his own tunes.

65. *Salem Gazette*, August 1, 1826. Obituary Notice.

66. This is made in the unidentified newspaper article, signed "S. N. Y.," now in Dow's *Manuscripts*, discussed above.

67. It is conceivable, but rather unlikely, that Jacob Kimball was confused in the mind of the obituary writer with Josiah Kimball (1802-1889), also a resident of Essex County, who is known to have contributed poetry to many publications. See Sidney Perley, *The Poets of Essex County* (Salem, 1889), p. 203. In Theodore Baker, *A Biographical Dictionary of Musicians* (New York, 1900), p. 312, Kimball's given name is listed as Josiah.

the era. It appeared in several editions between 1795 and 1821, its compiler unknown. Some indications are that Henry Ranlet, the publisher, compiled at least the first few editions.⁶⁸ It is the opinion of this writer that Kimball edited this publication, at least beginning with the fourth edition. Adequate evidence to document this belief is lacking, but circumstantial evidence strongly supports it. The card catalogue at the Essex Institute lists all editions of this book as being compiled by Kimball, although there seems to be no positive verification for this.⁶⁹

The most convincing evidence begins with an advertisement in the fourth edition, signed by the editor, stating that a "number of tunes are added to this Fourth edition . . . some of which are Original." Kimball is the only composer with a marked increase in the number of tunes in this edition. In the second edition, there are only two tunes by Kimball,⁷⁰ while in the fourth, there are seventeen. Examination of each edition after the fourth shows that Kimball was represented by more tunes than any other composer.⁷¹ Another fragment of evidence is that the introduction to the *Village Harmony* is the same as that published in the *Rural Harmony*.

These facts—that Kimball is the only composer represented in the fourth edition with an added "number of tunes;" that many of these added tunes were composed by the editor; and that the introduction to a known Kimball work is identical to this introduction—must support a claim for Kimball as the compiler of the

68. Louis Pichierri, "Music in New Hampshire 1623-1820" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Syracuse University, 1956), p. 283, says: "Ranlet not only compiled and printed the first seven editions of *The Village Harmony*, but was also responsible for publishing other tune-books such as Jacob Kimball's *Rural Harmony*." The latter part of this statement is incorrect.

69. Metcalf, *American Writers*, p. 111, says that there is a pencilled notation in one of the copies at the Essex Institute which attributes authorship to Kimball. The writer did not locate this copy.

70. Mr. Irving Lowens, in a personal interview August 29, 1955, furnished this information, as the writer had not examined the second edition.

71. The writer examined the holdings of the Essex Institute, which are the fourth through the seventeenth (revised) editions, except for the ninth. There is no known copy of that edition, nor of the first and third. The Brown University Library in Providence, Rhode Island, contains a copy of the second edition. There are at least four extant copies of the fourth edition, at the American Antiquarian Society, the Essex Institute, the Library of Congress, and the Huntington Library.

Village Harmony. However, as with other things mentioned above, documentation of this must await further discoveries.

And further discoveries are needed, for musicological research in early American music has been grossly neglected, and it is only through such research that our heritage of American music may be known. For we do have an inheritance as legatees of Kimball, Holyoke, Holden, Gram, Billings, Read, and the numberless other early Americans who labored in the related fields of music. There is an immense treasure of music by these men, awaiting only persistent hunting to be discovered.

It is to be hoped that Kimball will become better known to present day musicians. He was unique as a product of his time: having been born into a solid, middle-class, laboring family, and having been providentially endowed with above average intelligence, he became a well-educated, well-trained, sensitive artist—both poet and musician—possessing every promise of attaining success. But largely because of his time, a time in which sacred music in this country was undergoing a metamorphosis from Tate and Brady to Mason and Bradbury; and also because of his own failings, his apparent affinity for liquor and his lack of business acumen, Kimball never attained the eminence for which he was endowed and trained. Great success eluded him, and this passage aptly may be applied to him:

Full many a flow'r is born to blush unseen
And waste its sweetness on the desert air.⁷²

72. Thomas Gray, *An elegy wrote in a country church yard* (London, Printed for R. Dodsley and sold by M. Cooper, 1751).

APPENDIX

GENEALOGICAL TABLE⁷³

Richard (1595?-1675) m. ?

 |—Richard (1623?-?) m. Mary ? (?-?)

 |—John (1650?-1721?) m. Sarah ? (?-?)

 |—Richard (1673-1753) m. Hannah Dorman

 |—Jacob (1700-1787) m. Sarah Hale (1704-1787?) (1682-1748)

 |—Jacob (1731-1810) m. Priscilla Smith (?-1792)

 |—Benjamin (1757-1775)

 |—Mehitable (1758-1790)

 |—Jacob (1761-1826)

 |—Priscilla (1763-1792)

 |—Anna (1765-1789) m. John Hood

 |—Lucy (1767-1790) m. Solomon Perley

 |—Lydia (1770-1795)

 |—David (1772-1796)

 |—Samuel (1775-1775)

 |—Benjamin (1778-1817) m. Deborah Esty

⁷³. The information in this table is adapted from Leonard A. Morrison and Stephen P. Sharples, *History of the Kimball Family in America* (Boston, 1897).

KNOWN COPIES OF THE RURAL HARMONY⁷⁴

These are the locations of all known copies of the *Rural Harmony*:⁷⁵

American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts
Boston Public Library, Boston, Massachusetts
British Museum, London, England
Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island
Case Seminary, Hartford, Connecticut
Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts (three copies)
Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts
Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts
Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois
New York Public Library, New York City, New York (two copies)
Personal Library of Irving Lowens, Hyattsville, Maryland
Personal Library of Glenn C. Wilcox, Los Angeles, California
Topsfield Historical Society, Topsfield, Massachusetts
University of California, Los Angeles, California
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan
Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut

74. The author's research was supplemented with information from a personal letter by Allen Britton, March 21, 1955, and from an interview with Irving Lowens, August 29, 1955.

75. Shipton, *American Bibliography*, XIII, #37732, includes two other locations, neither of them verified by Britton, Lowens, or this writer: American Congregational Society, Boston, and the New York State Library, Albany. In other information this entry is only partially correct.

KNOWN COPIES OF THE ESSEX HARMONY⁷⁶

These are the locations of all known copies of the *Essex Harmony*:

American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts

Boston Public Library, Boston, Massachusetts

Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine

Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island

Congregational Library, Boston, Massachusetts

Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts (three copies)

Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts

Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois

New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord, New Hampshire

New York State Historical Society, Albany, New York

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76. Dr. Britton's letter of March 21, 1955, helped complete this list.

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